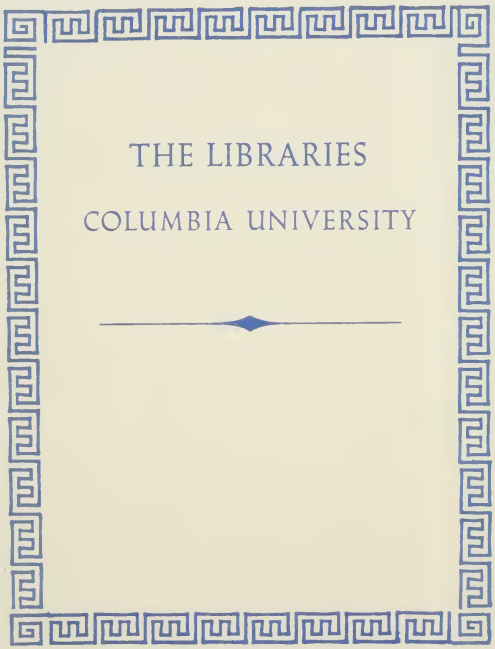

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LETTERS

FROM A

GENTLEMAN IN THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND,

&c. &c.

S. Curtis, Camberwell Press.

LETTERS

FROM A

GENTLEMAN IN THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND

TO

HIS FRIEND IN LONDON;

CONTAINING THE DESCRIPTION OF A CAPITAL TOWN IN THAT NORTHERN COUNTRY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SOME UNCOMMON CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS;

LIKEWISE

An Account of the Highlands,

WITH

THE CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE HIGHLANDERS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A LETTER RELATING TO THE MILITARY WAYS AMONG THE MOUNTAINS, BEGUN IN THE YEAR 1726.

THE FIFTH EDITION,

WITH

A LARGE APPENDIX,

CONTAINING VARIOUS IMPORTANT HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED; WITH AN

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY THE EDITOR,

R.^t JAMIESON, F. A. S. Lond. & Edin.

Corresponding Member of the Scandinavian Literary Society of Copenhagen, &c.

AND

THE HISTORY OF DONALD THE HAMMERER,

FROM AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILY OF INVERNAHYLE.

VOL. I.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

FIFTH EDITION.

THE author of the following letters (the genuineness of which has never been questioned in the country where the accuracy of his delineations may best be appreciated) is commonly understood to have been CAPTAIN BURT, an officer of engineers, who, about 1730, was sent into Scotland as a contractor, &c. The character of the work is long since decided by the general approbation of those who are most masters of the subject; and so large a body of collateral evidence respecting the then state of the Highlands has been brought forward in the Appendix and Notes, that it will be here only necessary to add such notices and remarks as

may tend to illustrate the subject in general, as well as to prepare the reader for what is to follow.

And first, it may be expected that somewhat should be said of the *antiquity* of the Highlanders, and *the unmixed purity of their Celtic blood and language,* of which they are more proud than of other more valuable distinctions to which they have a less questionable claim.

Whence the first inhabitants of our mountains came, or who they were, it would now be idle to inquire. They have no written annals of their own; and the few scattered notices respecting them that remain, are to be gathered from strangers, who cannot be supposed to have had any accurate knowledge of their traditions concerning themselves. That a large portion of their population once was *Celtic,* cannot be doubted; but of this distinction, there seems to be less understood than the learned have commonly supposed. The traditions, superstitions, and earliest impressions of all the nations of the *west,* of whom, in a less cultivated state, we have any knowledge,

seem to point to the *east*, "the great cradle of mankind," as the *land of their fathers;* and we consider the *Goths* and *Celts* as deriving their origin as well as their language from the same source; the Celts having been the earlier, and the Goths the later wanderers westward. Although their complexion, language, religion, and habits, formed under different skies, and in different circumstances, exhibited in the end different appearances; yet, the farther back that we are able to trace them, the stronger the marks of identity are found to be; and presumptive evidence must be admitted, where positive proof is not to be expected. Of this kind of evidence, a very curious example is to be found in the end of the seventh book of Temora, where the following striking apostrophe occurs:—

"Ullin, a Charuill, a Raoinne,
Guthan aimsir a dh' aom o shean,
Cluinneam sibh an dorchadas Shelma,
Agus mosglaibhse anam nan dàn.
Ni 'n cluinneam sibh, shìl nam fonn:
Cia an talla do neoil bheil ur suain?

Na thribhuail sibh clarsach nach trom,
An truscan ceò maidne is gruaim,
Far an eirich gu fuimear a' ghrian
O stuaidh nan ceann glas?

Literally thus in English:

O Ullin, Carruil, and Rouno,
Voices of the time that has given way of old,
Let me hear you in the darkness of Selma,
And awaken the spirit of songs.—
I hear you not, children of melody;
[*In*] what hall of clouds is your [*rest*] slumber?
Strike ye the harp that is not heavy,
In the gloomy robes of the mist of the morning,
Where the sun rises very sonorous
From the grey-headed waves?

Now, we know that all nations, having no light but that of nature to guide them, especially when in difficult circumstances, look with fond aspirations towards the land of their fathers, to which they believe and hope that their souls after death will return. This was the belief of the Goths in their state of probation in Scandinavia, and the *hall of Odin* was in *Asgard;* and here we find the Caledonian bard, in the true spirit of the *ancient* and *original*

belief of his countrymen, supposing the hall of the rest of his departed friends to be *in the east, where the sun rises.**

But whoever the first settlers were, their state was so precarious, that the same districts were continually changing their masters, sometimes in possession of one tribe, sometimes of another, sometimes of Goths, sometimes of Celts, and finally, of a mixed race composed of both. In the earliest periods of which history or tradition have preserved any memorials, the characters and habits of life of the inhabitants of the Scotish Highlands and Isles, and of the Northern Men, with whom they had constant intercourse, so nearly resembled each other, that what is said of one, may be with equal justice applied to the other; and even their languages bear the nearer resemblance to each other, the further back that

* This is only one of many passages in the poems ascribed to Ossian, which cannot reasonably be suspected, because they refer to things which the compilers had no means of knowing; the beauty of the poetry has preserved it; but *it is in direct opposition to all their own idle theories*, and therefore all the commentators have passed it over in silence.

they are traced. Almost all the great Highland clans know not only *whence* they came to their present settlements, whether from Ireland, Norway, or the Scotish Lowlands, but many of them know the precise time of their emigration. Of those who came from Ireland, the Celtic origin may well be doubted. We know that the Goths had established themselves in that island as early as the third century, and that Cork, Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, &c. were built by them.* As the descendants of these colonists were mariners and pirates, like their fathers, they kept to the sea-coast, and were therefore more likely than *up-landers* to remove, in the case of distress, discontent, or

* In the Irish legend of *Gadelus* and *Scota*, their language is brought from *Scythia*, to which, in the lax sense in which that appellation was commonly used, we see no great objection; and *Gadelus* is called the son of NIULL, a name which has from time immemorial been peculiar to the *Goths of the North* and their descendants; so long ago was all distinction between *Gothic* and *Celtic* lost among the Irish!—The Irish dictionary of O'Reilly (so creditable to the zeal and industry of the compiler) is a curious proof of this confusion of identity, as it contains, at least, ten *Norse* and *Anglo-Saxon* words, for one that is decidedly *Celtic*.

want of room at home, to the Scotish Highlands and Isles. That many of these isles were inhabited by Goths from Scandinavia, at a very early period, is evident from the traditions, poetry, and tales, of the Highlanders. Indeed, with respect to some of them, no traces remain of their having ever had any other permanent inhabitants.* With the history of the more recent arrival of the Northern Men in Orkney, Shetland, Caithnes, Sutherland, &c. we are better acquainted from the Icelandic historians; and of the Hebridians and Highlanders, properly so called, the great clans of M'Leod, M'Lean, M'Neill, Sutherland, M'Iver, Graham *(Gram)*, Bruce *(Bris)*, &c. are confessedly from the same quarter; if the M'Donalds and M'Kenzies (to the latter of whom we attach the M'Raas) came imme-

* The oldest appellation by which the Hebrides are known to have been designated was *Innse nan Gall*, "The isles of the strangers." The ancient kingdom of *Galway* in Ireland had its denomination from the same circumstance; and *the wild Scot of Galloway* in Scotland can hardly be presumed to have been a Celt.

diately from Ireland, their designations nevertheless show that they were not originally Celtic; the Frazers *(de Fresale)*, and the Chisholms (whose real name is *Cecil)* went from the Lowlands, as did the Gordons, and the Stewarts of Appin and Athol; the Kennedies (one of the last reclaimed of all the clans) were from Carrick and its neighbourhood; the Campbells *(de campo bello)* are allowed to be Normans; the Murrays, as well as the M'Intoshes, M'Phersons, and other branches of the *Clan Chattan*,* are generally understood to have come from the interior of Germany; and, in short, with the exception of the Mac Gregors, their descendants the Mac Nabs,

* The name of Cameron (Lat. *Camerarius*) seems to have been at first a title of office, such as could not have originated in the Highlands. It answers to the Scotish and English Chalmers, Chaumers, Chambers, Chamberlain, &c. *M'Kay* is spelt at least a dozen different ways; but, as it is uniformly pronounced by the Highlanders, it seems to mean *the son of Guy*.—But the three oldest worthies in the genealogical tree of the Reay family stand thus: Morgan Mac Magnus Vic Alaster *(Alexander)*; a delectable jumble of British, Gothic, and Greek names, for the foundation of an hypothesis!

the [*Irish?*] Mac Arthurs, and a few others of inferior note, there seem to be none of the ancient Celtic race remaining.

How the *men* were thus changed, while the *language* continued, is easily accounted for. The frequent appeals made to the king by chiefs at war among themselves, sometimes drew upon them the chastisement of the Scotish government, which was fond enough of seizing such opportunities of extending its own influence. Expeditions were fitted out, encouragement was given to the neighbours of the devoted party to join their array, and wherever the army went, submission and order were produced for the time; but the state of the country remained the same as before. The possessions of the parties against whom the vengeance of the invaders was directed, were given, partly to new settlers from the Lowlands, and partly to their more powerful or more politic neighbours, as a bribe to ensure their favour to the new arrangements. These colonists, being mostly young male adventurers, consulted their own interest and security by marrying women

of the country, and the children of such marriages, being left in childhood entirely to the care of their mothers, grew up perfect Highlanders in language, habits, and ideas, and were nowise to be distinguished from their neighbours, except that, perhaps, they were less civilized, being strangers to the cultivation peculiar to the country of their fathers, without having acquired in its full virtue that of the country in which they were born.

The Scandinavians, who over-ran a great part of the isles and adjacent districts of the mainland, brought few women from their own country, and their descendants were naturalized in the same manner; and *the best dialect of the Gaëlic is now spoken by those clans whose Gothic extraction has never been disputed.* Their tales, poetry, and traditions, continued with the language in which they had always been delivered down from one generation to another.*

* "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" is an exclamation, the pathos of which can never be fully appreciated by him, who has never quitted the *land of his fathers.* The *bodies* and *understandings* of men are more easily trans-

From the accounts to be found in various parts of this work, particularly in the Gartmore MS. it will be seen that, from the manner in which the lands, the superiority of which belonged to the chief of a clan, were portioned out by division and subdivision, according to proximity of blood, to the cadets of great families, the aboriginal inhabitants of the country must in the end have been actually shouldered out of existence, because no means were left for their support, and consequently they could not marry and be productive. These men, attached by habit, language, and prejudice, to

ferred from one region to another, than their *spirit*, particularly that spirit which is the source, soul, and essence of poetry; and we know of no *colonists*, properly so called, that have produced any good *original* poetry. The Greek colonies ceased to be poetical as soon as their identity with the parent states ceased; the Goths, Lombards, Burgundians, Franks, Normans, Anglo-Saxons, and Danes, had plenty of mythic, heroic, and romantic poetry in their own country, which continued to be the delight of the generations that emigrated, while their original impressions remained; but *they produced nothing of the kind in their new settlements.* It was the same with the Scandinavians, who settled in the Highlands and Isles; and we are of opinion, that, of all the fine national poetry of the old school, preserved till a late period among our mountaineers, none was composed after

their native country, upon which they had little claim but for benevolence, became *sorners* and sturdy beggars, and were tolerated and supported, as the *Lazzaroni* were in Naples, and as *Abraham-men*, and sturdy beggars of all sorts, were in England, after the suppression of the monasteries, and before there was any regular parochial provision for the poor. From this system it arose, that each Highland clan at last actually became what they boasted themselves to be—*one family*, descended from the same founder, and all related to their chief, and to each other. *If the chiefs of so many such clans were Goths, how is it possible that the pure Celtic*

the arrival of these strangers among them. The Goths lost their own poetry, with their language; and although locality, with the prejudices and enthusiasm thence arising, added to the astonishing retentiveness of memory, produced by constant habit and exercise (which disappears upon the introduction of letters), preserved among their descendants the Gaëlic strains which they found in the country, with the language in which they were clothed; the spirit, feeling, and irresistable impulse which first inspired them, died away, and nothing new of the same kind was afterwards attempted with any success. If these observations are allowed to be just, they will serve to throw considerable light upon a subject which has hitherto given rise to much unreasonable and ill-judged cavilling.

blood should have continued its current, unpolluted, among them, till the present day? The Celtic form of their language has been sufficiently accounted for; and *its identity with the Irish* proves nothing more than what we know to have been the case, that both dialects, having passed through nearly the same alembic, have come out of nearly the same form, with much more purity than could well have been expected, and much less than their admirers have generally claimed for them.

For the illustration of the *characters* and *manners* of our mountaineers, such as they were in the days of our author, it will not be necessary to go further back in time than the period when their condition began to differ from that of their neighbours, and submission and tribute were required of them by the kings of Scotland, to whom they owed no homage, and whose general enmity was less to be feared than their partial protection. Their liberty, their arms, and the barren fastnesses of their country, were almost all that they could call their own; a warlike race of men, under such

circumstances, are not likely to give up their all with good will; and those who had not enough for themselves, must have been little disposed to contribute any thing for the support of a power which it was certainly not their interest to strengthen.

Emigrants from Ireland, or from Scandinavia (most of whom had withdrawn from the usurpations of a sovereignty in their own country, to which their proud spirits could not submit),* whether they obtained their settlements by conquest or by compact, as they had been accustomed to consider their swords as the sole arbiters of their rights, were not likely to put their acquisitions at the mercy of a king to whom they owed no allegiance, so long as they had the means of asserting their independence. Of the state of our own mountaineers when these strangers first arrived among them, we know very little; but the Irish, with whom they had constant intercourse,

* See Snorro's *Keimskringla*, *Orkneyingasaga*, the History of the Kings of Man and the Isles, *Torfæus*, &c.

and who inhabited a much finer country,* must have been in a very rude state indeed, when they suffered themselves to be conquered by a handful of Englishmen. But whatever the previous state of the country was, such an accession of ambitious and adventurous pirates and freebooters to their population, was not likely to contribute to the tranquillity of the neighbourhood; and after the establishment of the English in Ireland, the constant intercourse between the Highlanders and Irish afforded the English an opportunity of making alliances with the Highland chiefs, whom they engaged to make diversions in their favour by attacking the Scots, as the French stirred up the Scots against the English.

The attempts made from time to time to civilize the country, by partial colonization from the Lowlands, had very little effect, as

* It is probable that the poverty of the Scoto-Gaël of that day was in their favour, and that they were in many respects superior to the Irish, because they were altogether free from the debasement of character produced by the clergy of that age, in every country where they acquired such influence as they then had in Ireland, "the Island of Saints."

the colonists uniformly adopted the spirit and habits of the natives, it being more agreeable and easy to lay aside the restraints imposed by an artificial state of society, than to adopt them; but some better results attended the policy of obliging the refractory chiefs to attend the court, or surrender themselves to some man of rank, under whose *surveillance* they were to remain till pardoned; after which they were to present themselves annually, either in Edinburgh or elsewhere, to renew their assurances of "good behaviour." This produced at least a more intimate acquaintance, and consequent connection, between the gentry of the Highlands and Lowlands, and made the former ambitious of acquiring those accomplishments, which might justify their pretensions to a distinction and consideration, which they had no other means of supporting, beyond the range of their own mountains. Limited as the diffusion of *book-learning* certainly was among them, one thing is nevertheless unquestionable, that *history, poetry, and music, were the favourite recreations of their leisure, among the lowest vulgar;*

and their clergy and physicians, who were all gentlemen, read and wrote, both in their mother tongue, and in Latin. From the Privy Council record, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it appears that the gentlemen of note, although they understood English, commonly signed their names in a bold distinct *Irish Character* (as it is called), which shows that they were accustomed to writing in their own language, and probably were, partly at least, educated in Ireland, to which country all who adopted either poetry or music as a profession, were uniformly sent to finish their education, till within the memory of persons still living.

The disturbances in the reign of Charles the First, opened a new æra in the history of the Highlanders; but it is much to be regretted, that, for a long period after, having no historians of their own, their friends durst not speak the truth of them, and their characters have therefore been entirely at the mercy of their bitterest enemies, who knew them only to hate them, in proportion as they feared them. Of all their virtues, *courage* was the only re-

spectable quality conceded to them, and this out of compliment to the best disciplined troops of the day, whom, with less than equal numbers, they had so often routed; but even their courage was disparaged, being represented as mere *ferocity*, arising from ignorance, and a blind and slavish submission to their chiefs. To speak of them otherwise, beyond the precincts of their own glens, was so unsafe, that in 1744 and 5, all the measures adopted and recommended by President Forbes, were near being frustrated, and he himself persecuted as a Jacobite, because he spoke and wrote of them like a gentleman and a man of discernment, being almost the only man of his party that had the liberal spirit and good sense to do so.*

* It is no small recommendation of the "Report of Marshal Wade," that appears from internal evidence, as well as from other circumstances, to have been drawn up in concert with President Forbes (one of the first men of his time), if not by him. Indeed a sketch of such a report has lately been discovered among the Culloden papers, a copy of which Colonel Stuart of Garth, with his usual politeness and liberality, very kindly offered to communicate to the present writer; and it has not been made use of, only because it does not differ materially from the revised copy presented to Government.

In one great and radical mistake, all our historians agree. They represent the attachment of the clans to the house of Stewart, as *cherishing the ferocious habits, and retarding the civilization of the Highlanders;* whereas the very reverse of this was the case. The real friends of the house of Stewart, in England, and more particularly in Scotland, were distinguished by a refined education, high breeding, elevated sentiments, a chivalrous love of fame, a noble and disinterested devotion to a cause which they believed to be good, and a social, warm-hearted, conviviality and frankness of character, totally different from the sour, intolerant, and acrimonious spirit of Presbyterian bigotry in the north,* and the heartless and selfish saving knowledge of the south—

> "When the very dogs at the English court
> "Did bark and howl in German."†

* This is said of a century ago; to which we are happy to add, that among the Presbyterians of the establishment in Scotland, *acrimonious bigotry* is now about as rare as enlightened liberality then was.

† It is much to be regretted, that Capt. Burt was, by his situation in Scotland, precluded from all intercourse with those who were suspected of attachment to the house of Stewart, and obliged

From the state of their country, the political bias of the Highlanders, and the *eclat* which they had acquired under Montrose and Dundee, the eyes of all Europe were turned towards them as the only hope of the house of Stewart. Their chiefs were courted by, and had frequent personal intercourse with the friends of that family who were of most note, both in Scotland, England, and Ireland, and on the continent. Studying to accomplish themselves for the part they had to act, and always received with the greatest distinction in the best

to depend for his information and experience, entirely upon the opposite party. If he had dared to associate with the Cavaliers, his opinion of the manners and spirit of the Scots, even in those times of common suffering, restless impatience, and general animosity (political and religious, as well as national), would have been very different. Of the kind of information to be derived from *whigs* of that day, an excellent specimen will be found in Graham of Gartmore's MS. quoted in the Appendix; where, although the *sentiments* often favour of party spirit and personal dislike, the *particular statements* are very curious and valuable, and being drawn up with considerable ability, make that article an important historical document. It will be remarked, that in the Letters *upon the Highlands*, where our author depends chiefly upon his own observation, which was shrewd and discriminating, and upon his understanding, which was enlightened and liberal, there is little to be objected to.

society, they became statesmen, warriors, and fine gentlemen. Their sons, after passing through the usual routine in the schools and universities of Scotland, were sent to France to finish their education. As the policy of the whig governments was to crush and destroy, not to conciliate, and they found neither countenance nor employment at home, they entered into the French or Spanish service, and in those countries were, from political views, treated with a distinction suitable, not to their pecuniary circumstances, but to their importance in their own country. Great numbers of the more promising of the youth of their clans joined them; and, in order that the luxurious indulgencies of a more favoured climate might not render them unfit or unwilling to settle in their own country, at the end of two or three years they returned for a time to their relations, with all their accomplishments in knowledge and manners, and, with their relish for early habits still unimpaired, resumed the quilted plaid and bonnet, and were replaced in their regiments abroad by another set of young

adventurers of the same description. Thus among the gentry, the urbanity and knowledge of the most polished countries in Europe were added to a certain moral and mental civilization, good in its kind, and peculiar to themselves. At home, they conversed with the lower classes, in the most kindly and cordial manner, on all occasions, and gratified their laudable and active curiosity, in communicating all they knew. This advantage of conversing freely with their superiors, the peasantry of no other country in Europe enjoyed, and the consequence was, that in 1745 the Scotish Highlanders, of all descriptions, had more of that *polish of mind and sentiment*, which constitutes *real* civilization, than in general the inhabitants of any other country we know of, not even excepting Iceland. This a stranger, who, not understanding their language, could see only the outside of things, could never be sensible of. *Book-learning*, it is true, was confined to the gentry, because in a country so thinly peopled, schools would have been useless; they were too poor to have private instructors;

and they had good reasons for looking with no favourable eye upon any thing that was *Saxon*. But most of the gentlemen spoke Gaëlic, English, Latin,* and French, and many of them Spanish, having access to all the information of which these languages were the vehicles. The lower classes were, each according to his gift of natural intellect, well acquainted with the topography of their own country, and with its history, particular as well as general, for at least three centuries back; they repeated and listened to, with all the enthusiastic delight of a thorough feeling and perfect intelligence, many thousand lines of poetry of the very highest kind† (for such they really had among them in abundance, notwithstanding the doubts which the disho-

* Such of the foreign officers stationed in the Highlands, in 1746, as could not speak French, found themselves at no loss among the gentlemen of the country, *who conversed with them in Latin;* an accomplishment which, we fear, very few of their grandsons can boast of.

† My very learned and excellent friend Mr. Ewen M'Lauchlan, now engaged in preparing a Dictionary of the Gaëlic Language, a few years ago translated the first four books of Homer's

nesty of Mac Pherson and his associates has raised on that subject); and their music (which, as it speaks the language of nature, not of nations, is more intelligible to a stranger) is allowed, when performed *con amore*, to be the production of a people among whom the better sympathies of our nature must have been cultivated to a great extent. These facts indicate a very high degree of intellectual refinement, entirely independent of the fashion of their lower garments,* from the sight of which, and

Iliad into Gaëlic verse. This translation he read, in the neighbourhood of Fort-William, to groups of men and women of the very lowest class, shepherds and mechanics, who had never learnt the power of letters. They listened to him with such enthusiasm as showed that the beauties of the composition had their full effect, and made such remarks as would have put to shame the comments of better instructed critics. We should like to see an Englishman make a similar experiment upon a party of *clowns*, or even of *comfortable citizens*, of his own country.—Book-learning is sometimes over-rated. A Highlander now learns from books—to despise the lore of his fathers, whose minds were much more cultivated than his own; and this is almost all that he does learn.

* *Delicacy*, like *civilization*, is a relative, and not an absolute term. A gentleman who, in the days of Henry the Seventh of England, had appeared in tight breeches or pantaloons, without a *brayette*, would have been punished for *an in-*

the sound of a language which they did not understand, their neighbours were fully satisfied of their *barbarity*, and inquired no further.

In justification of this account of their character in 1745, in addition to the information procured in the country, as well as in the Lowlands and in England, we can with confidence appeal to the letters of their chiefs, and to the public documents and periodical publications of the time, although these last were written by their bitterest enemies, with a view to influence the public against them. From all the information we have been able to collect, it appears that in their whole progress to and from Derby, their conduct, all circumstances considered, was not only orderly and proper, but, in innumerable instances, in the highest degree humane and magnanimous.* In England,

decent exposure of his person. A Russian boor wears his shirt *over* his pantaloons, and considers our fashion as impudently indelicate.—Who is right?

* Inconvenience from the presence of so many strange guests was unavoidable. They wanted *horses* and *arms*, which they *received* from their *friends*, and *took* from their *unfriends*, but with the assurance of indemnification as soon as King James

the courtly elegance, in manners and conversation, of the Highland gentlemen, their dignified deportment, the discipline they preserved among their men, but, above all, the kind-hearted, sensible, and considerate good-nature and indulgence which they everywhere manifested towards women and children (a strong

was established on the throne. The common men, also, when not under the eye of their officers, sometimes took *shoes* which they did not always pay for; but he that looked at their feet, and felt their purses, would have been more disposed to pity the necessity than complain of the outrage. If outrages did take place, it was not from the *clansmen*, who were too jealous of the honour of their name, to do any thing that was discountenanced by their superiors. But in all cases of civil war, there are found in every country great numbers of loose and disorderly persons, who are always ready to take shelter under the standard of insurrection, from the vengeance of the laws which their crimes have provoked. Many such, chiefly from the Lowlands, accompanied the army of Charles, under circumstances that rendered the keeping up good discipline, with respect to them, absolutely impossible. There were still greater numbers of these outlaws and *broken-men* out in 1715, who, after the failure of the earl of Mar, found sympathy and shelter among the Jacobite clans; and it was of such vagabonds that the rabble was composed who, in 1719, joined the 300 Spaniards, and were concerned in the skirmish at Glenshiel, of which the government made a handle for exercising all manner of tyranny and oppression upon those who had no concern in it.

feature in the Highland character, and the best proof true civilization), which was so different from what the English had been led to expect, made so favourable an impression, and formed such a contrast to the insolent brutality of the king's troops, officers and men, who marched down after them, that in many instances, which we know from the parties concerned, the women (for the *men* durst not speak out) could not help telling the latter, "when the *rebels, as they are called,* were here, they behaved very differently—*they* behaved like gentlemen—quite like gentlemen—God help them!" Such reproaches, so justly provoked, and so often repeated, produced only aggravation of insult and abuse, and (such was the spirit of the time) ladies of the greatest respectability were, by officers of rank, damned for Jacobite b*****s, and told that they were all rebels together, if they durst avow it, and deserved to have their houses burnt over their heads![*]

* One young widow lady in Cheshire, from whose daughter we had the anecdote, told a party of officers on such an occasion, "If I am not a Jacobite, it certainly is not your fault;—ye

With the exception of Mrs. Grant's admirable Essays, and those of the Rev. Dr. Graham of Aberfoyl, almost all the accounts of the Highlanders have been written either by enemies, with all the virulence of party spirit, or by strangers, from partial information; and, consequently, hardly any thing has been said of them but to their disadvantage. Hence the vague and idle declamations about *deadly feuds between clan and clan, bloody conflicts, desperate encounters, depredations, robberies, murders, assassinations, "and all manner of licentiousness."* In answer to all which, we shall only observe, that every clan was a little community by itself, under circumstances by no means favourable to quiet life among a poor, free, bold, and hardy race of men; and ask the dispassionate reader, *what all the great and polished nations of the earth were doing, while the mountaineers of Scotland*

have done all ye could to make me one!" An observation, the truth of which would have been sensibly felt by the king's troops, had the Highland army been in a condition once more to enter England, and avail themselves of the favour which their own good conduct and the insolence of their enemies had procured them in that country.

were thus murdering one another? Amid the proud triumphs of that *civilization* under which we are now supposed to live, it is mortifying to reflect, that in the course of twenty years, during the last war, there was twice as much Highland blood spilt [upwards of 13,000 have been enlisted into one single regiment!] as was shed by Highlanders *on their own account*, in any way whatsoever, during the three centuries that preceded the abolition of the feudal system among them in 1748!*

* This is *a melancholy truth*, not *a political reflection*. We are sensible that the war in which they were engaged could not have been avoided, without giving up all that ought to be dear to a brave and free people; and that the unshaken firmness with which it was prosecuted, under the most discouraging circumstances, has been the means of saving Europe from the last state of political and moral degradation, in which the voice of nature, truth, and honour, would have been utterly stifled, and no example of freedom left for the regeneration of mankind. At the breaking out of the French revolution, France was called *the most civilized country in the world*, and this insulting jargon still continues in the mouths of a party; but surely Rob Roy and the Clangregor, at a time when their neighbours hunted them down with blood-hounds, were humane and gallant fellows, when compared with Buonaparte, Massena, Suchet, Davoust, and Vandamme!

That they *lifted cattle* is true,—and this was so common, that the poor beasts, like their fellow-denizens of the wilderness, the deer and roe, seldom knew to what glen they belonged ;—but these things were managed in a way peculiar to themselves, and so seldom occasioned blood-shed, that with all their *hership*s, *rief*s, *hot-trod*s, and rescues, we may venture to affirm, that ten Yorkshiremen lost their lives for horse-stealing, for one Highlander that died in a case of cattle-lifting.

Private *robbery*, *murder*, and *petty theft* were hardly known among them. It has been said that " there was nothing to steal;" but there was comparative wealth and poverty in their country, as well as elsewhere; and the poorer the people were, the stronger was the temptation, and the stronger must the principle have been that enabled them to resist it. And here, for the sake of illustration, it may not be out of place to say somewhat of the heavy accusations brought against the Clangregor, particularly in Graham of Gartmore's MS. quoted in the Appendix. As there is no end to the clamours

which have been echoed from one generation to another, against this disorderly tribe, we shall state a few simple facts, to show the nature of their irregularities. They had long been deprived of their lands, their name, their political existence, and the protection of the laws, and left to provide for, and protect themselves as best they might. Their lands had been appropriated by their more powerful and politic neighbours, particularly the predecessors of the duke of Montrose. This, and that nobleman's new-fangled whig politics,* had exposed him particularly to their indignation, which he shared with Graham of Gartmore, and other gentlemen of the clan, who, having adopted the same principles, were regarded as *recreant Grahams*. When they *lifted* the duke's *cattle*, took his rents from his steward, or emptied his *girnel* of the farm-meal after it had been paid in, they considered themselves as only taking what *ought to have been their own*. The manner in which this was commonly done, shows how

* See the character of the first whig marquis of Montrose, in Lockhart of Carnwath's Memoirs of Scotland, published in 1714.

unjustly they were accused of *general cruelty* and *oppression* to their neighbours. On one occasion, Rob Roy, *with only one attendant*, went to the house in which the duke's tenants had been convened to pay their rents; took the money from the steward in their presence; gave them certificates that all had been duly paid before he seized it, which exonerated them from all further claim; treated them liberally with whiskey; made them *swear upon his dirk*, that not one of them would stir out of the house, till three hours after he was gone; took a good-humoured leave of them; and deliberately returned to the Braes. Those who know the spirit of the Grahams of that day, will be satisfied that this could never have taken place had the tenants not been very well pleased to see their money come into Rob's hands. When called out by the duke to hunt down Rob and his followers, they always contrived to give him timely warning, or to mislead the scent, so that the expedition came to nothing. When the duke once armed them for defence, they sent notice to Rob's nephew, Glengyle, to come

round with such a force as would be a decent excuse for their submission, and collect the arms, which they considered as a disagreeable and dangerous deposit; and when the M'Gregors took the field in 1715, the cavalier spirit of the Grahams rose, and many of the duke's dependants, scorning their superior and his politics, followed their standard. This showed that they did not consider the Braes of Balquhidder as a bad neighbourhood.

In all the thinly-peopled districts by which the M'Gregors were surrounded, the whole property of the tenants was constantly at the mercy of *thieves,* if there had been such in the country. The doors of their houses were closed by a latch, or wooden bolt; and a man with a clasp-knife might in a few minutes have cut open the door, or even the wicker walls of the house. Detached from the dwelling-house, from fear of fire, was a small wicker barn, or store-house, still less carefully secured, in which they kept their whole stock of hams, butter, cheese *(for they then had such things)*, corn, meal, blankets, webs, yarn, wool, &c.

These houses and barns were often left unprotected for days together, when the people were abroad cutting and *winning* turf, making hay or reaping for their superior, or tending their cattle in distant pastures. This was the case all over the Highlands; yet nothing was ever stolen or disturbed!—Of what *civilized* country, in the best of times, can as much be said?

A *spirit of revenge* has too often been attributed to them, as a distinguishing feature of character; and the ancient prejudice on this subject remains, long after the habits in which it originated have disappeared,* In a certain

* Campbell of Glenlyon lived to a good old age, and died a natural death, in the midst of the relations and friends of the M'Donalds of Glenco, in whose massacre he had acted such an infamous part. In 1745, when the Highland army was encamped in the neighbourhood of the house of the earl of Stair, whose father had been the chief author and orderer of that massacre, and who himself commanded a regiment in the king's service, Prince Charles, apprehensive of some outrage from the Glenco-men, sent a guard to protect the earl's house; on which the M'Donalds immediately quitted the camp; and although at that time utter ruin must have been the certain consequence of a separation from the army, they were with great difficulty prevailed upon to return, so strong was their virtuous indignation at being thought capable of a cowardly revenge, and visiting the iniquities of the father upon the children!

state of society, in all countries, *revenge* has been not only accounted manly and honourable, but has been bequeathed as a sacred trust, from father to son, through ages, to be wreaked as an indispensible duty of piety. This was particularly the case among the Scandinavians, from whom many of the Highlanders are descended; and as they remained longer than their neighbours in a state in which they had no laws to appeal to, there can be no doubt that many things were done in the way of *retaliation,* which would now be considered as lawless and violent; but, as the sum of infliction from wilful resentment among them bore no proportion to the sum of infliction from outraged laws in other countries, the balance in favour of humanity and forbearance, even in the most turbulent times we are acquainted with, will be found to be considerably in their favour. A man killed at his own fire-side by him whom he had injured, was talked of for ages, while five hundred such persons hanged at Tyburn were forgotten as soon as cut down!*

* If a robbery, murder, or assassination did take place, they showed their horror of the deed by raising a *cairn of memorial*

Men of strong and lively feelings are generally earnest in their likings and dislikings; but notwithstanding the constant provocations they have been receiving, during the last thirty years, from their landlords, land-stewards, (generally *English* or *Lowland attornies!*) Lowland tacksmen, farm-appraisers, and farm-jobbers, who live among them, or occasionally visit them, like the pestilence, with oppression, insult, and misery in their train,

"Destruction before them, and sorrow behind;"

in the midst of these grievous and daily wrongs, wilful fire-raising, houghing of cattle, and as-

on the spot, to point a salutary moral to all succeeding generations. The deep and lasting impression made by such occurrences showed how rare they were; but when the delinquencies of many centuries were (for want of other news) related to a stranger, in the course of a single evening, with as much minuteness of detail as if they had occurred but yesterday, neither his own feelings, nor his report to others, were likely to be favourable to a people among whom he had heard of so many enormities. But who would look for the character of the English nation in the Newgate Calendar? Captain Burt saw a murderer hanged at Inverness: the hangman was eighty years old, and had not yet learned his trade, from want of practice! In the populous county of Murray, in which the present writer was born, there have been only two executions in his time, being a space of forty-six years.

sassination, so common among their neighbours, are unheard of among *them!*

On the subject of *drunkenness*, of which they have been so often accused, we refer the reader with confidence to Mrs. Grant's Essays, which are written in the true spirit of candour and of truth, and from an intimate and thorough knowledge of her subject.——Donald is a lively, warm-hearted, companionable fellow; likes whiskey when he wants it, as others learn to do who visit his country; and is no enemy to a hearty jollification upon occasion; but we never knew in the Highlands an habitual drunkard, who had learnt that vice in his own country, if we except such, about Fort-William and Fort-Augustus, as had been corrupted by the foreign soldiers resident among them.——This was the case about thirty years ago, but a melancholy change has since taken place. At that time, the privilege of distilling at Farrintosh had not been withdrawn from the Culloden family, and good whiskey was so cheap (about tenpence an English quart), that there was no temptation to illicit distillation. At present, the poor dis-

tressed and degraded peasants (who would still do well if they could, and cling to their native glens, the land of their fathers, to the last) are compelled, by hard necessity, to have recourse to smuggling, in order to raise money to gratify the insane avarice of their misguided and degenerate landlords, who, with a view to immediate gain, connive at their proceedings, without considering that their own ruin must be the consequence of the demoralization of their tenants. Illicit stills are to be found everywhere; encouraging drunkenness, is encouraging trade; and the result is such as might be expected. But that the Highlander, when he has fair means of showing himself, is still averse to such profligacy, is proved by the conduct of the Highland regiments,* which, amid the contagion of bad examples, and all the licences peculiar to camps and a military life, have

* Of these regiments, from their first establishment, it is to be hoped that a very complete account will soon appear, which will throw much light on the past, as well as present state and character of the Highlanders; as Colonel Stewart of Garth has for several years been collecting materials for that purpose. The present writer is much indebted to that gentleman's communica-

always been distinguished above all others wherever they have been stationed, for their sobriety, honesty, and kindly good nature and good humour.

It is almost peculiar to this people, that the greatest beauties in their character have commonly been considered as blemishes. Among these, the most prominent are *family pride, the love of kindred, even to the exclusion of justice,* and *attachment* to a *country* which seems to have so few charms to the inhabitants of more favoured regions. A *family* consisting of four or five thousand souls, all known to, connected with, and depending upon, each other, is certainly something that a man may be justified in considering as of some importance; and if a Highlander could neither be induced by threats nor promises to appear in a criminal court against a kinsman, or give him up to the

tive frankness, liberality, and politeness; and with confidence appeals to his extensive collection of unquestionable facts, for the confirmation of such theories and statements, however novel they may sometimes appear, as are found in the Introduction and Notes to this work.

vengeance of the law,* as is so common elsewhere, we may admire and pity, but can hardly in our hearts blame him.—Who that has done such things ever did any good afterwards?†

The Highlander *loves his country,* because he loves heartily well every thing that has ever been interesting to him, and this his own country was before he knew any other. Wherever he goes, he finds the external face of nature, or the institutions, language, and manners of the people, so different from what was dear to him in his youth, that *he is everywhere else a stranger,* and naturally sighs for *home,* with all its disadvantages, which, however formidable they may appear to others, are with him connected with such habits and recollections, that he would not remove them, if a wish could do it.

* The *Lowland laws* were always held in abhorrence by the Highlanders, whom their *vengeance* often reached, but *their protection never.*

† Let those applaud the stoical sternness of *Roman justice* and *Roman virtue,* who admire it; to us, it has, in general, appeared a cold-blooded parade of theatrical ostentation, with which nature and truth had no connection.

Some of the *usages* mentioned in the following work, may give rise to misapprehension. To strangers, the children of the gentry appeared to be totally neglected, till they were of an age to go to school; and this, in some measure, continued even to our own times; but *it was the wisdom and affection of their parents that put them in such situations.* Aware of the sacredness of their trust, those with whom they were placed never lost sight of their future destiny; and as they were better acquainted with the condition of their superiors than persons of the same rank in life had means of being in other countries, no habits of meanness or vulgarity were contracted from such an education. Delicacy, with respect to food, clothing, and accommodation, would have been the greatest curse that could be entailed upon them: from early association, they learnt to feel an interest in all that concerned those among whom they had spent those years to which all look back with fond regret; and this intimate practical acquaintance with the condition, habits, and feelings of their dependants, produced after-

wards a bond of union and endearment in the highest degree beneficial to all parties; at the same time that they could, with less inconvenience, encounter such difficulties and privations as the future vicissitudes of life might expose them to.

The *ostentatiousness of the public, and beggarliness of the private economy* of their chiefs, has been ridiculed.—If they stinted themselves, in order to entertain their guests the better, they surely deserved a more grateful return. They lived in a poor country, where good fare could not be found for every day; and after half a dozen servants had waited at table, while the chief and his family were making a private meal of hasty-pudding and milk, *crowdy* (graddenmeal and whipt cream), curds and cream, bread and cheese, fish, or what they might chance to have, those servants retired to the kitchen, cheerful and contented to their homely dinner, without any of those heart-burnings produced by the sight of luxuries in which they could have no share. Their fare might be hard, but their superiors were contented with it, and so

were they. Such self-denial in the chiefs reconciled their dependants to disadvantages which they had no means of surmounting, and was equally humane and considerate.

Their *submission to their chiefs* has been called *slavish;* and too many of the chiefs of the present day are willing enough to have this believed, because they wish to impute their own want of influence to any cause rather than the true one; but the lowest clansman felt his own individual importance as well as his chief, whom he considered as such only "ad vitam aut ad culpam;" and although there was certainly a strong feeling in favour of the lineal descendant of the stem-father of their race, which prevented them from being rash, harsh, or unjust to him, there was also a strong feeling of honour and independence, which prevented them from being unjust to themselves.* When a chief proved unworthy of his rank, he was

* We believe the Highlands of Scotland to be the only country in Europe where the very name of *slavery* was unknown, and where the lowest retainer of a feudal baron enjoyed, in his place, the importance of a member of the community to which he be-

degraded from it, and (to avoid jealousy and strife) the next in order was constituted in his room—but never a low-born man or a stranger; as it was a salutary rule among them, as in other military establishments, not to put one officer over the head of another. But it was not with a Highland chief as with other rulers; "when *he* fell, he fell like Lucifer, never to rise again;" his degradation was complete, because he owed it to a common feeling of reprobation, not to the caprice, malice, or ambition of a faction; for every one was thoroughly acquainted with the merits of the cause, and while there was any thing to be said in his favour, his people had too much respect for themselves to show public disrespect to him. The same dignified feeling prevented their resentment from being bloody; he was still their kinsman, however unworthy; and having none

longed. The Gaëlic language has no word synonimous to *slave*, for *tràill* is Norse *(trael*, in English, *thrall)*; and the *thralls* whom the Norwegians brought with them soon had their chains decomposed by the free air of our mountains.

among them to take his part, was no longer dangerous.*

Their *affectation of gentry* (if such a term may be allowed) has been treated with endless ridicule, because it did not (much to the credit of their liberality) include the idea of *wealth;* but we believe few *gentlemen* in the Highlands, however poor, would have been flattered by being classed, as to *civilization,* with the *gentleman,* our author's friend, *who attempted to ride into the rainbow.*

The humane, indulgent, and delicate attention of people of fortune in the Highlands to their poor relations was one of the finest features in their character, and might furnish a very edifying example to the inhabitants of more favoured regions; and, to an honourable mind, there are surely considerations of higher importance than fine clothes and good eating. It has been imputed to their *pride* and *stupidity,*

* In one instance, it is true, a deposed chief was killed in battle by his clan, but it was in an attempt to force himself upon them by the assistance of a neighbouring tribe to which he was allied by marriage.

that they did not flee from the poverty of their own country, and try their fortunes, as labourers and mechanics, among strangers, where they might, in time, have obtained better food and accommodation; but to give up their rank in society, with all the endearing offices and sympathies of friendship and affection to which they had been accustomed at home, and which were so soothing and so flattering to their feelings, and to go where they were sure to be degraded beneath the lowest of the low, and continually exposed to contempt, ridicule, and insult, for their ignorance of the arts and habitudes of those among whom they lived;—in short, *to sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage*, —would have argued a beggarliness of soul and spirit, which, happily, their worst enemies do not accuse them of.

The foregoing remarks, which seemed necessary for illustrating the characters of a very singular and interesting people, have already extended this preface to a much greater length than was at first intended, which will be the less regretted, if the honest wish by which

these details were prompted has been in any degree fulfilled. Of undue partiality, it is hoped the writer will not be rashly accused, for *he is not a Highlander;* and, having gone to the mountains, at the age of fifteen, from the *Laigh of Murray* ("whence every man had a right to drive a prey;" and where, of course, the character of their neighbours was not very popular), he carried among them prejudices which nothing but the conviction arising from observation and experience could have removed. Of what he then heard, saw, and felt, he has since had sufficient leisure to form a cool and dispassionate estimate, during a residence of many years in various parts of England, Wales, the north of Europe, and the Lowlands of Scotland. As he had no Celtic enthusiasm to struggle with, and his deductions have all been made from facts, it is hoped they may be received by strangers with suitable confidence. To what good purpose he has availed himself of the advantages he enjoyed, in fitting himself for his present task, every reader will judge for

himself; but when he makes it known that it was first recommended to him by Mr. Scott (to whom both he and this publication, as well as the world in general, are so much indebted), his vanity will readily be pardoned, as, even if it should be found that that gentleman's kindness for the man has over-stepped his discretion as to the writer, the general conclusion will not be dishonourable to either party.

As a close affinity in manners, habits, and character, between the ancient as well as present mountaineers of Norway and Scotland has frequently been alluded to, these prolusions may be closed, not unaptly, with a fragment of Highland biography, which may be regarded as a great curiosity, particularly by such as are acquainted with the Icelandic and Norse Sagas, which it so strongly resembles. Of *Hammer Donald,* we shall only observe, that although the circumstances of his early life made him (like *Viga Glum,* and other celebrated *kemps* and homicides of the North) a very unmanageable and dangerous neighbour, there were then va-

rieties of character in the Highlands as well as elsewhere. Donald's clan had been but lately introduced into the country; *his father*, although a brave man, was denominated "the Peaceful;" and *his son* narrowly escaped being murdered in the very act of teaching his servants *how to cultivate the ground.*

THE

HISTORY

OF

DONALD THE HAMMERER.

From an authentic Account of the Family of Invernahyle. [MS. communicated by WALTER SCOTT, Esq.]

ALEXANDER, the first Invernahyle, commonly called *Saoileach*, or "the Peaceful," was son of Allan Stewart, third laird of Appin. He married Margaret M'Donald, daughter of Donald M'Donald of Moidart, commonly called *Donald an Lochan*, or Donald of the Lakes; but a deadly feud arose between Invernahyle and the family of Dunstaffnage, which, in the first instance, caused the overthrow of both.

Alexander walked out early in a summer morning from Island Stalker, and stepped over to Isle-nan-gall, where he laid himself down on the grass, with his Lochaber axe beside him, a weapon, at that period, more used in the Highlands than the broad-sword. Whilst he there

reposed, apprehensive of no danger, the celebrated *Cailen Uaine*, or Green Colin, arrived at the island in his barge, with a number of men, whom he had brought from Dunstaffnage to assist him in destroying his brother's enemy. Upon being observed by Alexander, he advanced in the most friendly manner, and was about to salute him, when, seeing the axe lying on the ground, he grasped it, and said, "This is a good axe, Alexander, if there were peace enough in it." To which Alexander quickly replied, "Do you think there is not that in it?" and laid hold of the axe likewise, being fully sensible of the spirit of Colin's remark. During the struggle, Colin's men surrounded Alexander, and basely murdered him. They then proceeded to Island Stalker, and after killing every one of Alexander's friends that they could find, took possession of Invernahyle and all his other property.

Not one person escaped the fury of Green Colin and his men, except the nurse, who happened to be out walking in the fields with Alexander's only child in her arms, who had been

named Donald, from his mother's father. The nurse was the blacksmith's wife of Moidart, and being an old acquaintance of Alexander's wife, was brought by her into Appin. Upon hearing what had happened to the family in which she was engaged, and that diligent search was made for her by Green Colin and his gang, in order to put the child to death, she fled home to her own country; and, upon discovering to her husband what had happened to the family of Invernahyle, they agreed to bring up the child as one of their own. [*It is said, the woman, being pursued in her flight, and knowing the infant's life was aimed at, hid it in a cave, having first tied a piece of lard round it's neck. The nurse was made prisoner, and detained for several days. On her release, she went to the cave, expecting only to find the reliques of her charge; but the infant was alive and well, the lard being reduced to the size of a hazel-nut.*—W. S.]

When young Donald had acquired some strength, he was called to assist his supposed father in carrying on his trade; and so uncommon was his strength, that when only eighteen

years of age, he could wield a large fore-hammer in each hand, for the length of the longest day, without the least seeming difficulty or fatigue.

At last the blacksmith and his wife resolved to discover to Donald the secret they had so long kept, not only from him, but from the world. After relating the mournful tale of his parents' death, the smith brought a sword of his own making, and put it into Donald's hand, saying, "I trust the blood that runs in your veins, and the spirit of your fathers, will guide your actions; and that this sword will be the means of clearing the difficulties that lie in the way of your recovering your paternal estate." Donald heard with surprise the story of his birth and early misfortune; but vowed never to put the sword into a scabbard until he had swept the murderers of his parents from the earth.* His mother's father, who still lived in Moidart, upon being satisfied that Donald was his grandson, and seeing his determination of recovering

* The blacksmith also presented Donald with his sons, to aid him in recovering his natural rights. W. S.

his father's property, gave him a few men, with whom he proceeded to Appin.

Upon arriving at Island Stalker, Donald declared himself the son of the late Invernahyle, and sent Green Colin a challenge to fight him singly; but, instead of complying with the challenge, Colin gathered all his retainers, and advanced with them in the order of battle; but Donald and his men commenced the attack, and, after a desperate engagement, succeeded in killing not only Green Colin, but nearly the whole of his men, by which Invernahyle became his property without any further trouble.

Donald's history being now made public, he got the appellation of *Donul nan Ord*, or "Donald the Hammerer," by which he was ever after known. Resolving to revenge the wrongs his father had suffered from the family of Dunstaffnage, Donald mustered all his fighting-men, and attacked the Campbells wherever he could find any of that name. Argyle came at last to be interested in the distress that Donald was bringing on his clan, and employed several parties to cut him off, but in vain. Donald, seeing

Argyle's intention, instead of being intimidated, penetrated, with his trusty band, into the heart of Argyle's country, spoiled his tenants, and carried away a considerable booty from the side of Lochow, which at that time gave a title to the chief of the clan. There is handed down a little roundlet which narrates this transaction:

Donul nan Ord, dallta Ghobhain,
Ailleagan nan Luireach leathar,
Thog a Creach 'o thaobh Loch A; *i. e.*

"Donald the Hammerer, the smith's foster-son, the ornament of the leathern apron, *lifted* a prey from the side of Lochow."

Argyle, much enraged at this transaction, began to think seriously of revenge, by raising his whole clan, and following to destroy him; but wisely seeing that this could not be done without much noise in the country, and aware that Donald might be supported by the Camerons, and other powerful clans with whom Argyle was at war, set on foot a negociation with the laird of Appin, to try and get Donald to make restitution, and to be peaceful. The result was, that Appin and his other friends insisted with Donald, that unless he came to terms with Argyle,

they would leave him to his own fate. Donald, unwilling to split with his friends, and thinking that he had just done enough to revenge the death of his parents, actually went to Inverary, with a single attendant, to hold a conference with Argyle at his own place. Argyle had too much honour to take advantage of this bold step of Donald; but conceived, from his rusticity, that he might soon get him into a scrape that might prove fatal to him. Upon arriving at Inverary, Donald met Argyle in the fields, and is said to have accosted him thus:—

A mic Cailen ghriomaich ghlais,
Is beg an hachd a thaead dhiom;
'S nan a philleach mi air mi ais,
Ma's a ma th'again dhiot,* *i. e.*

"Son of sallow, sulky Colin,
Small's the grace will go from me;
And if I get but back again,
'Tis all the boon I want from thee."

In the course of some indifferent conversation, Donald frequently indulged in a loud

* This is given in the orthography in which we found it, as are all the other scraps of Gaëlic.

horse-laugh (a habit which some of his descendants are noted for as far down as the eighth generation); to rally Donald a little on this, Argyle desired him to look at a rock on a hill above Ardkinglas, then in their view, which resembles a man's face reclined backwards, with the mouth widely expanded, and asked him if he knew the name of that rock? Donald answered in the negative. Argyle then told him, it was *Gaire Grannda* (ugly laugh.) Donald perceiving the allusion, and, with his other qualifications, being a good poet, replied off hand—

Gaire Grannda s' ainm do'n chreig;
'S fanaudh i mirr sin do ghna;
Gheibhead tu lethid agad fein,
Na n sealladh tu 'n euden do mhna; *i. e.*

" *Ugly Laugh* is the name of the rock;
An ugly mocker 'twill ever be;
But if you will look on your own wife's face,
As ugly a sight you at home may see."

When at length they came to talk of business, the terms upon which Argyle offered peace were, that Donald should raise a *hership* (plun-

dering) in Moidart, and another in Athol, thinking probably that Donald would be cut off in some of these attempts, or, if successful against such powerful people, his own disgrace would be less in what was done to his own lands. Donald readily agreed to the terms, and set out instantly for Moidart to inform his uncle of the engagement he had come under, and asked his advice. His uncle told him, the people of certain farms had offended him much; and if Donald would attack them, he, to save the appearance of being in the plot, would assist them in striving to recover the spoil, but would not be in such haste that Donald would run any risk of being overtaken. Donald soon gathered his men, and set fire to nearly all the farm-houses in Moidart, and got clear off with the spoil. This affair made great noise in the country. He went next to Athol, and carried desolation through that country with equal success; which intimidated Argyle so much, that he made peace with Donald on the terms proposed by the latter.

Not content with plundering the Highlands

from one end to the other, Donald often descended into the Low-country. One time, as returning from Stirlingshire, on passing through Monteith, his party called at a house where a wedding dinner was preparing for a party, at which the earl of Monteith was to be present; but, not caring for this, they stepped in and ate up the whole that was intended for the wedding party. Upon the earl's arriving with the marriage people, he was so enraged at the affront put upon his clan, that he instantly pursued Donald, and soon came up with him. One of the earl's men called out ironically,

Stewartich chui nan t Apan,
A cheiradhich glass air a chal.

One of Donald's men, with great coolness, drawing an arrow out of his quiver, replied,

Ma tha 'n t Apan againn mar dhucha,
'S du dhuinn gun tarruin sin farsid; *i. e.*

"If Appin is our country, we would draw thee [*thy neck*], wert thou there;"

and with this took his aim at the Monteith man, and shot him through the heart. A bloody engagement then ensued, in which the earl and

nearly the whole of his followers were killed, and Donald the Hammerer escaped with only a single attendant, through the night coming on.*

Donald married a daughter of John Stewart Ban Rannoch, *alias, Jan Mac Roibeart,* by whom he had four sons, first, *Jan More,* who died at Taymouth when young; second, Duncan, who succeeded him; third, Allan, of whom the present Ballechelish; fourth, *James nan Gleann,* who had the lands of Lettershuna. Donald the Hammerer had only one daughter, who was married to Archibald Campbell, called *Gillisbuegdie,* of whom the present *Achalladair.*

During Donald's life-time, the feud that subsisted between him and the family of Dunstaffnage did not entirely subside; but it was prudently concluded, in order to put a final end to to it, that Duncan should pay his addresses to

* This skirmish took place betwixt Loch Katrine and the Loch of Monteith. (See Dr. Graham, on the scenery of these districts.) As the quarrel began on account of the poultry devoured by the Highlanders, which they plundered from the earl's offices, situated on the side of the port of Monteith, to accommodate his castle in the adjacent island, the name of *Gramoch an gerig,* or *Grames of the hens,* was fixed on the family of the Grames of Monteith. W. S.

Helena, a daughter of Dunstaffnage, which he did with success. This was carried on unknown to Donald; and when the marriage took place, he was in very bad blood with his son; and Duncan, not having any thing to support himself and his young wife, went to live with the smith's wife of Moidart, who had nursed his father, upon the farm of Inverfalla, which her husband had received from *Donul nan Ord* as a grateful recompence for his former kindness; but, the smith being dead, the old woman now lived by herself.

Being more inclined to live by cultivating the arts of peace than by plundering his neighbours, Duncan spent much of his time in improving the farm of Inverfalla, which his father considering as far below the dignity of a Highland gentleman, could not brook to see.

Once, as Donald was walking upon the green of Invernahyle, he looked across the river, and saw several men working upon the farm of Inverfalla. In the mean time Duncan came out, and took a spade from one of the men, seemingly to let him see how he should perform the

work in which he was employed. This was too much for the old gentleman to bear. He launched the *currach* (a wicker boat covered with hides) with his own hand, and rowed it across to Inverfalla. As he approached, Duncan, being struck with the fury of his countenance, fled from the impending storm into the house; but the old man followed him with a naked sword in his hand. Upon entering a room that was somewhat dark, Donald, thinking his degenerate son had concealed himself under the bed-clothes, made a deadly stab at his supposed son; but, instead of killing him, the sword went through the heart of his old nurse, who was then near eighty years of age.

After this unfortunate accident Donald became very religious; he resigned all his lands to his sons, and went to live at Columkill, where he at last died at the age of eighty-seven.

LETTERS, &c.

LETTER I.*

Inverness.

In the course of evidence, or other examination, one slight accidental hint may be the cause of a long and intricate inquiry; and thus the bare mention I lately made of a few notes I had taken, relating to these parts and to the Highlands, will

* The English are certainly the first people in the world, and their good qualities are too well known to require any eulogium here; but if it were asked, by what *one general characteristic*, more than another, they are to be distinguished, perhaps the answer ought to be, that *they do not like to be put out of their way.* This peculiarity, in their own country, produces a good deal of habitual grumbling, in which there is no great harm, as it gives rise to an attention to convenience, propriety, and comfort, which is nowhere else to be met with. But an Englishman, to be seen to advantage, must be seen at home; when he goes abroad, he assumes a compliance with his habits as an

be the occasion of some employment for me: but I am far from making a merit of any trouble I can take to gratify your curiosity; and more especially in this; for to tell you the truth, I have at present little else to do; my only fear is, my endeavour will not answer your expectation.

Our friendship is as old as our acquaintance, which you know is of no inconsiderable standing, and complimental speeches between us were, by consent, banished from the beginning, as being unsuitable to that sincerity which a strict friendship requires. But I may say, with great truth, there is but one other in the world could prevail with me to communicate, in writing, such circumstances as I perfectly foresee will make up great part of this correspondence; and therefore I must stipulate, even

exclusive privilege, expecting the whole population of every country he visits, to *put themselves out of their way*, lest *he* should be *put out of his*. This makes the manners of the English much less acceptable in other countries than those of the Irish and Scots, who are less fastidious, and have more social and good humoured pliancy of character. The Englishman pursues his own beaten path firmly and with dignity; but if turned out of it, he is miserable and helpless. The Irishman and Scotsman, accustomed to less indulgence at home, take the path that is most convenient if it is not so good as might be wished, the Irishman comforts himself that it is no worse, and the Scotsman sets about devising how he may mend it.

with you, that none of my future letters, on this subject, may be shown to any other than our common friend ——, in whom you know we can confide.

I have several reasons for this precaution, which I make no doubt you will approve.

First, The contrary might create inconveniences to me in my present situation.

It might furnish matter for disobliging comparisons, to which some of our countrymen are but too much addicted.

This again might give offence, especially to such who are so national as not to consider, that a man's native country is not of his own making, or his being born in it the effect of his choice.

And lastly, It would do me no great honour to be known to have made a collection of incidents, mostly low, and sometimes disagreeable. Yet even in this I have a common observation on my side, which is, That the genuine character of any particular person may be best discovered, when he appears in his domestic capacity; when he is free from all restraint by fear of foreign observation and censure; and, by a parity of reason, the genius of a whole people may be better known by their actions and inclinations in their native country, than it can be from remarks made upon any numbers of

them, when they are dispersed in other parts of the world.

In public, all mankind act more or less in disguise.

If I were to confine myself to the customs of the country and the manners of the people, I think it would need but little apology to the most national; for the several members of every community think themselves sufficiently furnished with arguments, whereby to justify their general conduct; but in speaking of the country, I have met with some, who, in hearing the most modest description of any part of it, have been suddenly acted upon by an unruly passion, complicated of jealousy, pity, and anger: this, I have often compared in my mind to the yearnings of a fond mother for a misshapen child, when she thinks any one too prying into its deformity.

If I shall take notice of any thing amiss, either here or in the Mountains, which they know to be wrong, and it is in their power to amend, I shall apply, in my own justification, what is said by Spenser upon a like occasion:

> "The best (said he) that I can you advise,
> Is to avoid the occasion of the ill:
> For, when the cause whence evil doth arise
> Removed is, the effect surceaseth still."

The Highlands are but little known even to

the inhabitants of the low country of Scotland, for they have ever dreaded the difficulties and dangers of travelling among the mountains; and when some extraordinary occasion has obliged any one of them to such a progress, he has, generally speaking, made his testament before he set out, as though he were entering upon a long and dangerous sea voyage, wherein it was very doubtful if he should ever return.

But to the people of England, excepting some few, and those chiefly the soldiery, the Highlands are hardly known at all: for there has been less, that I know of, written upon the subject, than of either of the Indies; and even that little which has been said, conveys no idea of what a traveller almost continually sees and meets with in passing among the mountains; nor does it communicate any notion of the temper of the natives, while they remain in their own country.

The verbal misrepresentations that have been made of the Lowlands are very extraordinary; and though good part of it be superior in the quality of the soil to the north of England, and in some parts equal to the best of the south, yet there are some among our countrymen who are so prejudiced, that they will not allow (or not own) there is any thing good on this side the Tweed. On the other hand, some flattering

accounts that have been published, what with commendation, and what with concealment, might induce a stranger to both parts of the island, to conclude, that Scotland in general is the better country of the two; and I wish it were so (as we are become one people) for the benefit of the whole.

About a week ago, I borrowed a book called 'A Journey through Scotland,' published in the year 1723; and having dipped into it in many places, I think it might with more propriety be called, 'A Journey to the Heralds Office, and the Seats of the Nobility and Gentry of North-Britain.'

He calls almost all their houses palaces. He makes no less than five in one street, part of the suburbs of Edinburgh,* besides the real palace of Holyrood-House; but if you were to see them with that pompous title, you would be surprised, though you would think some of them good houses when mentioned with modesty.

But I think every one of the five would greatly suffer by the comparison, if they stood

* People commonly denominate the *house* of a *duke*, as they do an *episcopal residence*, a *palace*; and before the Union, many of the principal nobility of Scotland had houses in the Canongait of Edinburgh, to which a common tradesman would now be ashamed to invite his friends.

near Marlborough-House in St. James's Park; and yet nobody ever thought of erecting that building into a palace.

It would be contrary to my inclination, and even ridiculous to deny, that there is a great number of noble and spacious old seats in Scotland, besides those that were kings' palaces, of both which some are built in a better taste than most of the old seats in England that I have seen: these I am told were built after the models of Sir William Bruce, who was their Inigo Jones; but many of them are now in a ruinous condition. And it must be confessed there are some very stately modern buildings: but our itinerant author gives such magnificent descriptions of some of his palaces, as carry with them nothing but disappointment to the eye of the travelling spectator.

He labours the plantations about the country-seats so much, that he shows thereby what a rarity trees are in Scotland; and indeed it has been often remarked, that here are but few birds except such as build their nests upon the ground, so scarce are hedges and trees.*

* The Scots have all the birds of song that are found in England, except the nightingale; like the Germans, they are particularly fond of them as pets, and *never kill them for the table.* Some have supposed that, before the disforesting of the north of England and the lowlands of Scotland, and when the climate

The post-house at Haddington, a wretched inn, by comparison, he says, is inferior to none on the London road.

In this town he says there are coffee-houses and taverns as in England;—Who would not thence infer, there are spacious rooms, many waiters, plentiful larders, &c.? And as to the only coffee-room we have, I shall say something of it in its proper place.

But the writer is held greatly in esteem by the people here, for calling this the 'pretty town of Inverness.' How often have I heard those words quoted with pleasure!

Here I am about to premise something in relation to the sheets which are to follow: And first, I intend to send you one of these letters every fortnight, and oftener if I find it convenient, till I have, as I may say, writ myself

was certainly better than it has been for some time back, they had the nightingale also. The meaning of the name of this bird in the French, Italian, &c. is beautifully poetical. It is Celtic, and is still preserved in the Scots-Gaëlic and Irish, Ros-AN-CEOL, the *rose-music*; the melody finely substituted for the melodist; the former being often heard, whilst the latter is seldom seen. The oriental fable of the Nightingale and the Rose is well known, and needs no other explication than simply observing, that the queen of sylvan melodists, and the queen of flowers, come and go together; and that nightingales sing only while roses blow.

quite out. In doing this, I shall not confine myself to order or method, but take my paragraphs just as they come to hand, except where one fact or observation naturally arises from another. Nor shall I be solicitous about the elegancy of style, but content myself with an endeavour only to be understood; for both or either of those niceties would deprive me of some other amusements, and that, I am sure, you do not expect, nor would you suffer it if you could help it.

There will be little said that can be applicable to Scotland in general; but if any thing of that nature should occur, I shall note it to be so.

All parts of the Highlands are not exactly alike, either in the height of the country or the customs and manners of the natives, of whom some are more civilised than others.

Nothing will be set down but what I have personally known, or received from such whose information I had no reason to suspect; and all without prejudice or partiality. And lastly, I shall be very sparing of the names of particular persons (especially when no honour can be dispensed by the mention of them), not only as they are unknown to you, but, to tell you the truth, in prudence to myself; for, as our letters are carried to Edinburgh the Hill-way, by a

foot post, there is one who makes no scruple to intrude, by means of his emissaries, into the affairs and sentiments of others, especially if he fancies there is any thing relating to himself; so jealous and inquisitive is guilt. And therefore I shall neglect no opportunity of sending them to Edinburgh by private hands. But if you should be curious at any time to know the name of some particular person; in that case, a hint, and the date of my letter, will enable me to give you that satisfaction.

But I must add, that the frequent egotisms which I foresee I shall be obliged to use in passages merely relating to myself, incline me to wish that our language would sometimes (like the French) admit of the third person, only to vary the eternal (I).

This is all I have to say by way of preface: what apologies I may have occasion to make in my progress, I do not know; but I promise, that as they are *dry*, so shall they be as *few* as possible.

LETTER II.

About a twelvemonth after I first came to this town, and had been twice to Edinburgh by the way of the Hills, I received a letter from an old acquaintance, desiring me to give him an account of my first journey hither, the same to commence from the borders of Scotland.

I could not, you may imagine, conceive the meaning of a request so extraordinary; but however I complied implicitly. Some time afterwards, by a letter of thanks, I was given to understand, it was an expedient, agreed upon between him and another, whereby to decide a dispute.

Now all this preface is only to introduce my request to you, that you will absolve me from the promise I made you last week, and in lieu of what you might demand, accept of a copy of that letter.

I should not have waved my promised design, but for an affair which something related to myself, and required my attention, and therefore I could not find time to tack together so

many memorandums, as such letters, as I intend to send you, require; for if they are not pretty long, I shall be self-condemned, since you know I used to say, by way of complaint against ——, That letters from one friend to another should be of a length proportioned to the distance between them.

After some compliments, my letter was as follows:

"According to your desire, I shall begin my account with the entertainment I met with after passing the Tweed at Kelso, but shall not trouble you with the exaction and intolerable insolence of the ferrymen, because I think you can match their impudence at our own horse-ferry: I shall only say, that I could obtain no redress, although I complained of them to the principal magistrate of the town.

"Having done with them, my horses were led to the stable, and myself conducted up one pair of stairs, where I was soon attended by a handsome genteel man, well dressed, who gave me a kindly welcome to the house.

"This induced me to ask him what I could have to eat: to which he civilly answered, The *good wife* will be careful nothing shall be wanting; but that he never concerned himself about any thing relating to the *public* (as he called it): that is, he would have me know he was a *gentle-*

man, and did not employ himself in any thing so low as attendance, but left it to his wife.* Thus he took his leave of me; and soon after came up my landlady, whose dress and appearance seemed to me to be so unfit for the wife of that gentleman, that I could hardly believe she was any other than a servant; but she soon took care, in her turn, by some airs she gave herself, to let me know she was mistress of the house.

"I asked what was to be had, and she told me potted pigeons; and nothing, I thought, could be more agreeable, as requiring no wait-

* There are several people still living who remember "mine host" of Kelso, and his manner, just such as they are described here; but there were many such in the country at that time, who urged no pretensions to *gentility*. It was in Scotland, as on the bye-roads in England a few years back, where there were few travellers, and little profit for inn-keepers; the *husband* was obliged to follow some other avocation for the support of his family, and leave the concerns of the house *entirely* to his *wife*, who was too sensible of the importance of her charge to share it with any body. It was from her alone, that the inn took its denomination; and she was emphatically called the *brewster-wife*, because the character of her *charge* depended chiefly upon her skill in brewing, and the quality of her ale.—Sometimes the husband's *politeness*, and sometimes, no doubt, his *forwardness*, led him to *do the honours* in his own house; but there was no affectation in his saying that he never meddled with the management of it; for a *brewster-wife* who would have suffered such interference would have been very unfit for her place.

ing, after a fatiguing day's journey in which I had eaten nothing.

"The cloth was laid, but I was too unwilling to grease my fingers to touch it; and presently after, the pot of pigeons was set on the table.

"When I came to examine my cates, there were two or three of the pigeons lay mangled in the pot, and behind were the furrows, in the butter, of those fingers that had raked them out of it, and the butter itself needed no close application to discover its quality.

"My disgust at this sight was so great, and being a brand-new traveller in this country, I ate a crust of bread, and drank about a pint of good claret; and although the night was approaching, I called for my horses, and marched off, thinking to meet with something better: but I was benighted on a rough moor, and met with yet worse entertainment at a little house which was my next quarters.

"At my first entrance I perceived some things like shadows moving about before the fire, which was made with peats; and going nearer to them, I could just discern, and that was all, two small children in motion, stark naked, and a very old man sitting by the fire-side.

"I soon went out, under pretence of care for my horses, but in reality to relieve my lungs and eyes of the smoke. At my return I could

perceive the old man's fingers to be in a very bad condition, and immediately I was seized with an apprehension that I should be put into his bed.

" Here I was told I might have a breast of mutton done upon the *brander* (or gridiron): but when it was brought me, it appeared to have been smoked and dried in the chimney corner; and it looked like the glue that hangs up in an ironmonger's shop: this, you may believe, was very disgusting to the eye; and for the smell, it had no other, that I could perceive, than that of the butter wherewith it was greased in the dressing; but, for my relief, there were some new-laid eggs, which were my regale. And now methinks I hear one of this country say, —— a true Englishman! he is already talking of eating.

" When I had been conducted to my lodging-room, I found the curtains of my bed* were

* Out of one of the beds on which we were to repose, started up at our entrance a man, black as a Cyclops from the forge. Other circumstances of no elegant recital concurred to disgust us. We had been frightened by a lady at Edinburgh, with discouraging representations of Highland lodging: sleep, however, was necessary. Our Highlanders had at last found some hay, with which the inn could not supply them. I directed them to bring a bundle into the room, and slept upon it in my riding-coat.

Johnson's Journey. Works, vol. viii. 262.

very foul by being handled by the dirty wenches; and the old man's fingers being present with me, I sat down by the fire, and asked myself, for which of my sins I was sent into this country; but I have been something reconciled to it since then, for we have here our pleasures and diversions, though not in such plenty and variety, as you have in London.

"But to proceed: Being tired and sleepy, at last I came to a resolution to see how my bed looked within side, and to my joy I found exceeding good linen, white, well aired and hardened, and I think as good as in our best inns in England, so I slept very comfortably.

"And here I must take notice of what I have since found almost every where, but chiefly in the Low-country, that is, good linen; for the spinning descends from mother to daughter by succession, till the stock becomes considerable; insomuch that even the ordinary people are generally much better furnished in that particular, than those of the same rank in England—I am speaking chiefly of sheeting and table-linen.

"There happened nothing extraordinary between this place and Edinburgh, where I made no long stay.

"When I first came into the high-street of that city, I though I had not seen any thing of

the kind more magnificent: the extreme height of the houses,* which are, for the most part, built with stone, and well sashed; the breadth and length of the street, and (it being dry weather) a cleanness made by the high winds, I was extremely pleased to find every thing look so unlike the descriptions of that town which had been given me by some of my countrymen.

"Being a stranger, I was invited to sup at a tavern. The cook was too filthy an object to be described; only another English gentleman whispered me and said, he believed, if the fellow was to be thrown against the wall, he would stick to it.

"Twisting round and round his hand a greasy towel, he stood waiting to know what we would have for supper, and mentioned several things himself; among the rest, a *duke*, a *fool*, or a *meer-fool*. This was nearly according to his pronunciation; but he meant a duck, a fowl, or a moor-fowl, or grouse.†

* The view of the houses at a distance strikes the traveller with wonder; their own loftiness improved by their almost aërial situation, gives them a look of magnificence not to be found in any other part of Great Britain.—*Pennant's Scotland*, vol. i. 63.

† Had it been for dinner, he would probably have recommended also a *bubly-jock* (Turkey cock), a *pully* (pullet), a *bawd* (hare), and *rabbits*, under names which might have led a gay young *militaire* still farther astray; with a *tappit-hen* (quart pot of ale), to wash all down.

"We supped very plentifully, and drank good French claret, and were very merry till the clock struck ten, the hour when every-body is at liberty, by beat of the city drum, to throw their filth out at the windows. Then the company began to light pieces of paper, and throw them upon the table to smoke the room, and, as I thought, to mix one bad smell with another.

"Being in my retreat to pass through a long narrow *wynde* or alley, to go to my new lodgings, a guide was assigned me, who went before me to prevent my disgrace, crying out all the way, with a loud voice, "Hud your haunde." The throwing up of a sash, or otherwise opening a window, made me tremble, while behind and before me, at some little distance, fell the terrible shower.

"Well, I escaped all the danger, and arrived, not only safe and sound, but sweet and clean, at my new quarters; but when I was in bed I was forced to hide my head between the sheets; for the smell of the filth, thrown out by the neighbours on the back side of the house, came pouring into the room to such a degree, I was almost poisoned with the stench."

I shall here add to my letter, as I am making a copy of it, a few observations.

When I was last in Edinburgh I set myself

to consider of this great annoyance, and, in conclusion, found it remediless.

"The city, it seems, was built upon that rock for protection, by the castle, in dangerous times; but the space was too narrow to contain a sufficient number of inhabitants, otherwise than by very high buildings, crowded close together, insomuch that there are hardly any back yards.

"Eight, ten, and even twelve stories have each a particular family, and perhaps a separate proprietor; and therefore any thing so expensive as a conveyance down from the uppermost floor could never be agreed on; or could there be made, within the building, any receiver suitable to such numbers of people.

"There is indeed between the city and the sea a large flat space of land, with a rivulet running through it, which would be very commodious for a city: but great part of it has been made the property of the corporation; and the magistrates for the time being will not suffer any houses to be built on it; for if they did, the old city would soon be deserted, which would bring a very great loss upon some, and total ruin upon others, of the proprietors in those buildings."

I have said thus much upon this uncleanly subject, only, as you may have heard some ma-

liciously, or at best inconsiderately, say, that this evil proceeds from (what one would think nobody could believe) a love of nastiness, and not necessity. I shall only add, as it falls in my way, that the main street is cleaned by scavengers every morning early, except Sunday, which therefore is the most uncleanly day.*

But to return. Having occasion the next morning after my arrival to inquire for a person with whom I had some concerns, I was amazed at the length and gibberish of a direction given me where to find him.

I was told that I must go down the street, and on the north side, over-against such a place, turn down such a *wynde;* and, on the west side of the *wynde,* inquire for such a *launde* (or building), where the gentleman *stayd,* at the *thrid stair,* that is, three stories high.

This direction in a language I hardly understood, and by points of the compass which I then knew nothing of, as they related to the town, put me to a good deal of difficulty.

At length I found out the subject of my inquiry, who was greatly diverted when I told him (with as much humour as I was master of) what had been my perplexity. Yet in my nar-

* No immundities are now deposited in the kennels on Saturday night.—See Note at the end of this Letter.

ration I concealed the nauseous inconvenience of going down the steep narrow *wynde*, and ascending to his lodging.

I then had no knowledge of the *cawdys*, a very useful blackguard, who attend the coffee-houses and public places to go of errands; and though they are wretches, that in rags lie upon the stairs, and in the streets at night, yet are they often considerably trusted, and, as I have been told, have seldom or never proved unfaithful.

These boys know every body in the town who is of any kind of note, so that one of them would have been a ready guide to the place I wanted to find; and I afterwards wondered that one of them was not recommended to me by my new landlady.

This *corps* has a kind of captain or magistrate presiding over them, whom they call the constable of the *cawdys*, and in case of neglect or other misdemeanor he punishes the delinquents, mostly by fines of ale and brandy, but sometimes corporally.

They have for the most part an uncommon acuteness, are very ready at proper answers, and execute suddenly and well whatever employment is assigned them.

Whether it be true or not I cannot say, but I have been told by several, that one of the judges formerly abandoned two of his sons for

a time to this way of life, as believing it would create in them a sharpness which might be of use to them in the future course of their lives.

This is all that I knew of Edinburgh at that time, by reason of the shortness of my stay. The day following, my affairs called me to begin my journey to Glasgow.

Glasgow is, to outward appearance, the prettiest and most uniform town that I ever saw; and I believe there is nothing like it in Britain.

It has a spacious *carrifour*, where stands the cross; and going round it, you have, by turns, the view of four streets, that in regular angles proceed from thence. The houses of these streets are faced with Ashler stone, they are well sashed, all of one model, and piazzas run through them on either side, which give a good air to the buildings.

There are some other handsome streets, but the extreme parts of the town are mean and disagreeable to the eye.

There was nothing remarkable in my way to Glasgow, that I took notice of, being in haste, but the church at Linlithgow, a noble old Gothic building, formerly a cathedral, now much in ruins, chiefly from the usual *rage* that attends *reformation*.*

* In England, the Reformation emanated from the court, and the higher orders of society, as well ecclesiastics as others,

It is really provoking to see how the populace have broke and defaced the statues and other ornaments, under the notion of their being relics of Popery.

As this town was our baiting-place, a gentleman (the son of a celebrated Scots bishop) who

and was conducted with comparative dignity, moderation, and decency. In Scotland, it was the work of the rabble, headed by a few able, daring, and ambitious ghostly demagogues, either destitute of good taste, or obliged to pretend to be so, in order to preserve their popularity with the vulgar, who were their tools. Their principle was, to overturn every thing religious that was established, and to produce an establishment as opposite as possible in every thing to that which they had overturned. Using the Lord's Prayer, or Doxology, in public worship, was denounced as an infallible *mark of the beast;* and had the reading of the Scriptures been more encouraged by the Roman Catholics, that also would have been discarded.—Amid the general wreck of ecclesiastical structures, during the fury of "rooting out rooks, by pulling down their nests," the cathedral of Glasgow had a very narrow escape, and was preserved by the good sense and address of one of the magistrates. It had been decreed that that venerable old building, polluted by the abominations of Popery, should be razed to the ground; to which this magistrate gave his hearty consent, as in duty bound; but observed at the same time, that building churches was a very expensive matter, and money very scarce; the house had never sinned, if the archbishop and his clergy had; the people had nowhere else to meet for the worship of God; and, in his humble opinion, it would be more prudent *not to pull down the old church, till they had raised money to build a new one.*—This judicious appeal to their pockets saved the edifice.

was with me, proposed, that while dinner was getting ready we should go and view the inside of the structure; and as we took notice that great part of the floor was broken up, and that the pews were immoderately dusty, the *precentor*, or clerk, who attended us, took occasion to say, he did not apprehend that cleanliness was essential to devotion; upon which, my friend turned hastily upon him, and said very angrily,

"What! This church was never intended for your *slovenly* worship." This epithet, pronounced with so much ardour, immediately after his censure of the Presbyterian zeal, was to me some matter of speculation.

My stay at Glasgow was very short, as it had been at Edinburgh, to which last, in five days, I returned, in order to proceed to this town.

Upon consulting some gentlemen, which of the two ways was most eligible for me to take, *i. e.* whether through the Highlands, or by the sea-coast, I found they were divided; one giving a dreadful account of the roughness and danger of the mountains, another commending the shortness of the cut over the hills. One told me it was a hundred and fifty miles by the coast, another that it was but ninety miles the other way: but I decided the matter myself

upon the strength of the old proverb—"That the farthest way about is the nearest way home." Not but that I sometimes met with roads which, at that time, I thought pretty rough; but after passing through the Highlands, they were all smoothed, in my imagination, into bowling-greens.

As the country near the coast has, here and there, little rising hills which overlook the sea, and discover towns at a considerable distance, I was well enough diverted with various prospects in my journey, and wanted nothing but trees, enclosures, and smoother roads, to make it very agreeable.

The Lowlands, between the sea and the high country, to the left, are generally narrow; and the rugged, romantic appearance of the mountains was to me, at that time, no bad prospect; but since that, I have been taught to think otherwise, by the sufferings I have met with among them.

I had little reason to complain of my entertainment at the several houses where I set up, because I never wanted what was proper for the support of life, either for myself or my horses: I mention them, because, in a journey, they are as it were a part of one's self. The worst of all was the cookery.

One thing I observed of almost all the towns

that I saw at a distance, which was, that they seemed to be very large, and made a handsome appearance; but when I passed through them, there appeared a meanness which discovered the condition of the inhabitants: and all the out-skirts, which served to increase the extent of them at a distance, were nothing but the ruins of little houses, and those in pretty great numbers.

Of this I asked the reason, and was told, that when one of those houses was grown old and decayed, they often did not repair it, but, taking out the timber, they let the walls stand as a fit enclosure for a *cale-yard* (*i. e.* a little garden for coleworts), and that they built anew upon another spot.* By this you may conclude that stone and ground-rents in those towns are not very valuable. But the little fishing-towns were generally disagreeable to pass, from the strong smell of the haddocks and whitings that were hung up to dry on lines along the sides of

* There was another reason. The cottagers very commonly built their own cottages, reserving to themselves the right of carrying off the timber when they quitted, in case the next tenant did not choose to pay them for it. The *fowd* (Gaël. *foid*, a sod) of an old house was accounted excellent manure, after being thoroughly smoked and half-burnt; and it was usual with the Highlanders to pull down their sod huts every four or five years for this purpose, and build others of similar materials, *to be in a state of preparation.*

the houses from one end of the village to the other: and such numbers of half-naked children, but fresh-coloured, strong, and healthy, I think are not to be met with in the inland towns. Some will have their numbers and strength to be the effects of shell-fish.

I have one thing more to observe to you, which is, that still as I went northward, the cattle and the carts grew less and less. The sheep likewise diminished in their size by degrees as I advanced; and their wool grew coarser, till at length, upon a transient view, they seemed to be clothed with hair. This I think proceeds less from the quality of the soil than the excessive cold of the hills in the winter season, because the mutton is exceedingly good.*

* The small breed of sheep peculiar to the North of Scotland, and which is supposed to have come originally from Norway, being still found in Iceland, and in the islands of Orkney and Shetland, was very hardy, easily fed, their mutton exquisite, and the fleeces soft, as every one knows who has worn Shetland hose. If the Merino sheep lately introduced, should not, after competent trial, be found to answer so well as was expected, it might be worth while to make some experiments of a cross with the Shetland breed. The Shetlanders still *tear off* the wool instead of shearing it. As this is done after the roots of the wool have been forced out of the skin by the young fleece, the process is not so cruel as it appears to be; but it is bad economy, because much of what first becomes loose, is cast in the natural way, and lost.

Thus I have acquainted you how I came hither, and I hope it will not now be very long before I have a greater pleasure in telling you, by word of mouth, in what manner I got home; yet must I soon return.*

* The account in the foregoing letter of the untidyness of Edinburgh is uncommonly moderate, and the observations on it much more charitable than it deserved. A remnant of this national reproach is still left, from nine at night till seven in the morning, enough to provoke an Englishman of the present day to say nearly as much as our author has said. How the case stood a century earlier may be collected from the following curious order of the Privy Council of Scotland to the Magistrates, dated March 4, A. D. 1619:—

"*Act Anent the Burgh of Edinburgh.*

"FORSAMEKLE as the burgh of Edinburgh, quhilk is the chief and principall burgh of this kingdome, quhair the soverane and heich courtes of Parliament, his Majesties Preuie the Counsall and Colledge of Justice, and the Courtis of Justiciarie and Admiralitie ar ordinarlie haldin and keipt, and quhairunto the best pairt of the subiectis of this kingdome, of all degreis, rankis, and qualities, hes a commoun and frequent resorte and repare,—is now become so filthie and vncleine, and the streittis, venallis, wyndis, and cloissis thairoff so overlayd and coverit with middingis, and with the filth and excrement of man and beist, as the noblemen, counsellouris, servitouris, and uthers his Majesties subiectis quha ar ludgeit within the said burgh, can not have ane cleine and frie passage and entrie to thair ludgeingis; quhairthrow thair ludgeingis ar becum so lothsume vnto thame, as they ar resolved rather to mak choice of ludgeingis in the Cannongate and Leyth, or some utheris pairtis about the towne, nor to abyde the sycht of this schamefull vncleanes and filthiness; quhilk is so universall and

in such abundance throuch all the pairtis of this burgh, as in the heitt of somer it corruptis the air, and gives greit occasioun of seikness: and forder, this schamefull and beistlie filthines is most detestable and odious in the sicht of strangeris, quho beholding the same, ar constrayned with reassoun to gif oute mony disgracefull speiches aganis this burgh, calling it a most filthie pudle of filth and vncleannes, the lyk quhairof is not to be seine in no pairt of the world; quhilk being a greate discredite to the haill kingdome, that the principall and heid burgh thairof sould be so void of pollice, civilitie, ordour, and gude governement, as the hie streittis of the same cannot be keipit cleine; and the Lordis of Secreit Counsall, vnderstanding perfytelie that the said burgh, and all the streittis and vennallis thairof, may very easilie, and with litill ado, be keipit and haldin cleine, gif the people thameselfis wer weill and civillie disposit, and gif the Magistratis tuk caire to caus thame, and everie ane of thame, keip the streittis foranentis thair awin boundis clein, as is done in vther civill, handsome, and weill governeit cities: THAIRFOIR, the Lordis of Secreit Counsall commandis and ordanis, be thir presents, the Provest and Baillies of Edinburgh to tak and set downe sum setled and solide odoure and course how the said burgh and the cloissis, wyndis, and streittis thairof may be haldin and kepit cleine, the middingis, and all other filthe and vncleannes removed, and tane away, by appointing every neichbour of the toune to keip the streittis foranent his awin dwelling cleane; and that no nichtbour lay thair middingis, souppingis of thair housis, nor na uther filthe, vpoun his nichtbouris boundis and hie streittis, vnder some ressonable paines, to be imposit and exactit of the contravenaris: and that the saidis Provest and Baillies appoynt a constabill for every closse to sie thair ordinance putt in executioun, and the contravenaris punist, be exacting of the saidis paines from thame; certifeing the saidis Provest and Baillies gif they be remiss, or negligent heirin. the saidis Lordis will tak thame to thame, and,

accordinglie, will tak such ordour herein as they sall think expedient."—(*Reg. Sec. Conc. Mar.* 4, 1619.)

Such was the state of our capital at home. What figure many of the Scots then made in England, and how they were received by their *most gracious sovereign*, now the mighty ruler of *three kingdoms*, who wanted money to feed and clothe his servants, will appear from the following extracts from the same record:—

"*Apud Edinburgh Decimo Maij* 1611.

"Proclamatioun anent the repairing of personis to Courte.

"FORSAMEKLE as the frequent and dailie resoirt of grite nomberis of Idill personis men and wemen of base soirt and conditioun, and without ony certane trade, calling, or dependance, going from hense to Courte, be sey and land, is not onlie very vnplesant and offensiue to the kingis Maiestie, in so far as he is daylie importuned with thair suitis and begging, and his royall Courte almost filled with thame, thay being, in the opinioune and consait of all behaldaris, bot ydill rascallis, and poore miserable bodyis; bot with that this cuntrey is havelie disgraceit, and mony sclanderous imputationis gevin oute aganis the same, as iff thair wer no personis of goode ranke comlynes nor credite within the same; And the kingis Maiestie and lordis of secreit counsaill, [considering] how far suche imputationis may tuitche this cuntrey, and what impressioun it will mak in the hairtis of the commoun multitude of the nightbour cuntrey, whenas thay see his Maiestie importuned and fascheit, and his royall courte filled with suche nomberis of Idill suitaris and vncomelie people; and the saidis lordis, thairfoir, being carefull to prevent all forder occasioun of reproitche or sclander of the cuntrey, by staying, so far as possible may be, all forder resoirt of thir ydill people to Courte; Thairfoir Ordanis Lettres to be direct Charging officiaris of armes to pas to the mercatt croces of the heid burrowis and sey poirtis of

this kingdome, and thair be oppin proclamatioun, To Command charge and inhibite the maisteris, awnaris, skipparis, and marinaris of whatsomeuir schippis and veschellis, That nane of thame presume nor tak vpoun hand, To transporte or cary in thair schippis ony passingeris from hense to England, quhill first thay gif vp to the saidis lordis the names of the passingearis and latt the Lordis vndirstand and know what Lauchfull errand thay haif, and procure licence for thair transporting, vndir the pane of confiscatioun of the schippis and veschellis, and of all the mouable goodis pertening to the saidis skipparis, maisteris, and marinaris, to his Maiesties vse."

"*Apud Edinburgh* 1615. xxij. *Nouembris.*

"Act anent the repairing of personis to Courte.

"FORSAMEKLE as it is vnderstand to the Lordis of secreit counsaill, that there is grite nomberis of Idill and impertinent suitearis, who daylie repairis from this kingdome towardis his Ma^ties^ Courte and presence, and, in the mides of his ma^ties^ most important affairis, vexis and molestis his Maiestie with thair petitionis and suitis, outher for debteis alreddy payit, or vniustlie acclamed vpoun fals pretendit groundis and pretensis; And whereas there is no sort of importunitye more vngratious to his Maiestie, nor more derogatorye to the honour and credite of this his Maiesteis antient kingdome, nor that whilk proceidis frome the base vncomely and frequent resoirt of suche vagrantis and impertinent sutearis to his Ma^ties^ Courte and presence; And seeing his Maiestie is gratiously dispoisit to gif ordour and directioun for satisfactioun of all such debtis whairin his Maiestie is Justlie addebteit to ony of his subiectis, The same debtis being first hard, examined, and considderit, be the Lordis commissionaris of his Maiesteis rentis, and the sutearis thairof being recommendit frome the saidis lordis to his Maiestie, with thair declaratioun and testificatioun that the debt craved is a Just and trew debt: Thairfore, the Lordis of secreit counsaill ordanis Lettres to be direct to officiaris

of armes, chargeing thame to pas to the mercatt croce of Edinburgh and otheris placeis neidfull, And thair to Command, charge, and inhibite, all and sindrie his maiesteis liegis and subiectis whatsomeuer, who acclames ony debteis to be awand be his maiestie to thame, That nane of thame pressume nor tak vpoun hand, To resoirte and repair to his Ma^ties^ Courte and presence, nor importune his maiestie with thair petitiouns and suitis, for ony debtis acclamed be thame, quhill first thay acquent the saidis lordis commissionaris of his ma^ties^ rentis, with thair petitiouns and suitis for ony debtis acclamed be thame, and with the nature and caus of the debt, and obtene thair recommendatioun and licence to repair to his maiestie for that effect, vnder the pane of forfeyting and lossing of thair right to that whilk thay acclame, and forder, vnder the pane of pvnishment of thame in thair personis and goods, at the arbitrament of his Ma^ties^ Counsell."

LETTER III.

I AM now about to enter upon the performance of my promise, and shall begin with a description of this town, which, however obscure it may be thought with you, yet is of no inconsiderable account in these remote regions. And it is often said to be the most like to an English town of any at this end of the island.

But I have a further view than barely to make you acquainted with these parts without your having the inconveniences, fatigue, and hazards of a northern journey of five hundred miles; and that design is, to show you, by example, the melancholy consequence of the want of manufactories and foreign trade, and most especially with respect to the common people, whom it affects even to the want of necessaries; not to mention the morals of the next degree. It is here, indeed, their happiness, that they do not so sensibly feel the want of these advantages, as they would do if they had known the loss of them.

And notwithstanding the natural fertility of

the South, I am, by observation, taught to conclude, that without those important profits, which enable the higher orders of men to spare a part of their income to employ others in ornamental and other works not absolutely necessary; I say, in that case, the ordinary people with you would be, perhaps, not quite, but nearly as wretched as these, whose circumstances almost continually excite in me the painful passion of pity, as the objects of it are seldom out of my sight.

I shall not make any remarks how much it is incumbent on the rulers of kingdoms and states (who are to the people what a father is to his helpless family) to watch over this source of human convenience and happiness, because this has been your favourite topic, and indeed the contrary would be in me (as the common phrase is) "like carrying coals to Newcastle."

If wit were my talent, or even a genteel ridicule, which is but a faint resemblance of wit (if it may be said to be any thing like it)—I say, if both or either of these were my gift, you would not expect to be entertained that way upon this account; for you perfectly know that poverty, simply as such, and unattended by sloth, pride, and (let me say) other unsuitable vices, was never thought by the judicious to be a proper subject for wit or raillery. But I

cannot forbear to observe, *en passant*, that those pretenders to wit that deal in odious hyperboles, create distaste to ingenuous minds.

I shall give you only two examples of such insipid jests. The first was, in describing the country cabins in the north of Ireland, by saying, one might put one's arm down the chimney and unlatch the door. This regarded all of that country; but the other was personal to one who, perhaps, had carried his economy a little too far.

Sir,—says the joker to me, who was a stranger to the other, this gentleman is a very generous man—I made him a visit the other day, and the bars of his grate were the wires of a bird-cage, and he threw on his coals with an ockamy spoon.

It is true, the laughing part of the company were diverted with the sarcasm; but it was so much at the expense of the old gentleman, that I thought he would run mad with resentment.

It would be needless to describe the situation of this town, as it relates to the island in general, because a map of Britain will, at one view, afford you a better idea of it than any words I can put together for that purpose; I shall therefore content myself with saying only, That the Murray Frith is navigable within less than half a mile of the town, and that the rest

of the navigation to it is supplied by the river Ness.

Inverness* is one of the royal boroughs of Scotland, and, jointly with Nairne, Forres, and Channery, sends a member to parliament.

The town has a military governor, and the corporation a provost and four baillies, a kind of magistrates little differing from our mayors and aldermen: besides whom, there is a dean of guild who presides in matters of trade; and other borough officers, as in the rest of the corporate towns of this country.

* Mr. Pennant, who commenced his tour about fifty years later than our author, says, "This town is large and well built, very populous, and contains about eleven thousand inhabitants. This being the last of any note in North Britain, is the winter residence of many of the neighbouring gentry, and the present emporium, as it was the ancient, of the north of Scotland.

"The opulence of this town has often made it the object of plunder to the lords of the isles and their dependants. It suffered in particular in 1222 from one Gillispie, and in 1429 from Alexander lord of the isles; and even so late did the ancient manners prevail, that a head of a western clan in the latter end of the last century, threatened the place with fire and sword, if they did not pay a large contribution, and present him with a scarlet laced suit; all which was complied with."

Pennant's Scotland, vol. i. 178, 179.

In 1689, the Viscount Dundee found the Macdonalds of Keppoch besieging Inverness on their own private account. On his obligation for its ransom, they engaged in his service; *but returned to secure their plunder in Lochaber.*

It is not only the head borough or county-town of the shire of Inverness, which is of large extent, but generally esteemed to be the capital of the Highlands: but the natives do not call themselves Highlanders, not so much on account of their low situation, as because they speak English.

This rule whereby to denominate themselves, they borrow from the Kirk, which, in all its acts and ordinances distinguishes the Lowlands from the Highlands by the language generally spoken by the inhabitants, whether the parish or district lies in the high or low country.

Yet although they speak English, there are scarce any who do not understand the Irish tongue; and it is necessary they should do so, to carry on their dealings with the neighbouring country people; for within less than a mile of the town, there are few who speak any English at all.

What I am saying must be understood only of the ordinary people; for the gentry, for the most part, speak our language in the remotest parts of Scotland.

The town principally consists of four streets, of which three center at the cross, and the other is something irregular.

The castle* stands upon a little steep hill

* This castle used to be the residence of the court whenever the Scottish princes were called to quell the insurrections of the

closely adjoining to the town, on the south side, built with unhewn stone: it was lately in

turbulent clans.—According to Boethius, Duncan was murdered here by Macbeth; but according to Fordun, near Elgin. Old people still remember magnificent apartments embellished with stucco busts and paintings. James the First ordered this castle to be repaired in 1426, and directed that every lord beyond the Grampian Mountains, in whose lands ancient castles stood, should repair and dwell in them, or at least one of his friends, in order to govern the country and expend the produce in the territory; and finding that the Highland chiefs were strangers to his laws and government, he resolved to inculcate into their obduracy some principles of good order by a salutary severity. The lords of the isles, in particular, by their constant confederacy with England and repeated inroads, well deserved a signal chastisement. In pursuance of these motives the king assembled here a parliament in the spring, which the Highland chieftains were specially summoned to attend, and suddenly arrested Alexander, lord of the isles, and his mother the countess of Ross, with others. Two of the chiefs, leaders of a thousand each, were instantly tried, condemned, and beheaded; and one who had murdered the late lord of the isles was also executed in impartial justice. The others were scattered as prisoners among the castles of different lords through the kingdom; and after a time some were condemned to death, and some were restored to liberty. The lord of the isles and his mother were retained in captivity, till apparently after a year or more the former was delivered, while the latter seems in vain to have been retained as an hostage for his fidelity.—The lord of the isles, on being liberated, received many admonitions and injunctions of fidelity; but, regardless of these, he soon indulged his revenge, by gathering his lawless bands and burning the town of Inverness.—James, justly enraged, collected an army, and overtook the invader in a marshy ground near Locha-

ruins, but is now completely repaired, to serve as a part of the citadel of Fort George, whereof the first foundation stone was laid in summer 1726, and is to consist of barracks for six companies. This castle, whereof the duke of Gordon is hereditary keeper, was formerly a royal palace, where Mary, the mother of our king James the First, resided, at such times when she thought it her interest to oblige the Highlanders with her presence and expense, or that her safety required it.

You will think it was a very scanty palace, when I have told you, that before it was repaired, it consisted of only six lodging-rooms, the offices below, and the gallery above; which last being taken down, and the rooms divided

ber, where the free-booting lord was totally defeated.—His force consisted of about ten thousand men, of whom two clans, Chatan and Cameron, on the sight of the royal standard, acceded to the king. The lord of the isles, reduced to despair, sent an embassy to entreat peace, which being refused, he resolved to put himself entirely in the king's mercy. For which purpose he came privately to Edinburgh, and on a solemn day, only attired in his shirt and drawers, he, before the high altar of Holy Rood church, upon his knees, presented his drawn sword to the king in the presence of the queen and many nobles. His life was granted in consequence of his humble submission, but he was committed to the castle of Tantallon, under the care of his nephew the earl of Angus; and his mother, the countess of Ross, to the island of Inch Colm, in the Frith of Forth.—*Pennant's Scotland*, vol. i. 179.—*Pinkerton's Scotland*, vol. i. 119, 123.

each into two, there are now twelve apartments for officers' lodgings.

While this building was in repairing, three soldiers, who were employed in digging up a piece of ground very near the door, discovered a dead body, which was supposed to be the corps of a man; I say supposed, because a part of it was defaced before they were aware.

This was believed to have lain there a great number of years, because when it was touched it fell to dust. At this unexpected sight, the soldiers most valiantly ran away, and the accident, you will believe, soon brought a good number of spectators to the place.

As I was talking with one of the townsmen, and took notice how strange it was that a body should be buried so near the door of the house; "'Troth," says he, "I dinno doubt but this was ane of Mary's lovers."

I verily believe this man had been afterwards rebuked for this unguarded expression to me, an Englishman; because, when I happened to meet him in the street the day following, he officiously endeavoured to give his words another turn, which made the impression I had received, much stronger than it had been before.

But this I have observed of many (myself not excepted), who, by endeavouring to excuse

a blunder, like a spirited horse in one of our bogs, the more he struggles to get out, the deeper he plunges himself in the mire.

Upon the whole, this hint at the policy of her amours, from a native of this town, induced me to believe there is some received tradition among the people concerning her, not much to the advantage of her memory.* I had often heard something to this purpose in London, but could not easily believe it; and rather thought it might have arisen originally from complaisance to one, who, if we may believe some Scots Memoirs, was as jealous of the praises of her fine person, as apprehensive of a much more dangerous competition.

Before I have done with the castle, I must acquaint you with an odd accident that had like to have happened to it, not many days after the abovementioned discovery. And first I must tell you, that one end of the building extends to the edge of a very steep descent to the river, and that slope is composed of a very loose gravel.

The workmen had ignorantly dug away some little part of the foot of the declivity, to make a passage something wider between

* A rash and vulgar calumny of this sort, from a disciple of the school of John Knox, was natural enough, but certainly did not deserve so much notice.

that and the water. This was done in the evening, and pretty early in the night we were alarmed with a dreadful noise of running about, and calling upon a great number of names, insomuch that I concluded the town was on fire. This brought me suddenly to my window, and there I was informed that the gravel was running, and followed by continual successions; and that the castle would be down before morning.

However, it was prevented; for the town masons and soldiers soon run up a dry wall against the foot of the hill (for stones are everywhere at hand in this country), which furnished them with the hasty means to prevent its fall.

The bridge is about eighty yards over, and a piece of good workmanship, consisting of seven arches, built with stone, and maintained by a toll of a *bodle*, or the sixth part of a penny, for each foot-passenger with goods; a penny for a loaded horse, &c.

And here I cannot forbear to give you an instance of the extreme indigence of some of the country people, by assuring you, I have seen women with heavy loads, at a distance from the bridge (the water being low), wade over the large stones, which are made slippery by the sulphur, almost up to the middle, at the hazard of their lives, being desirous to save, or unable to pay, one single bodle.

From the bridge we have often the diversion to see the seals pursue the salmon as they come up the river: they are sometimes within fifty yards of us; and one of them came so near the shore, that a salmon leaped out of the water for its safety, and the seal, being shot at, dived; but before any body could come near, the fish had thrown itself back again into the river.

As this amphibious creature, though familiar to us, may be to you a kind of curiosity, perhaps you may expect some description of it.

The head at some distance resembles that of a dog, with his ears cut close; but when near, you see it has a long thick snout, a wide mouth, and the eyes sunk within the head; and altogether it has a most horrid look, insomuch that if any one were to paint a Gorgon's head, I think he could not find a more frightful model.

As they swim, the head, which is high above water, is continually moving from side to side to discover danger.

The body is horizontally flattish, and covered with a hairy skin, often finely varied with spots, as you may see by trunks that are made to keep out wet. The female has breasts like a woman, that sometimes appear above water, which makes some to think it occasioned the fiction of

a mermaid;* and, if so, the mermaid of the ancients must have been wondrous handsome! The breast of the male is likewise so resembling to that of a man, that an officer, seeing one of them in cutting up, went away, telling me, it was so like that part of a human body, he could not *stand it*, for that was his expression.

Beneath the skin is a deep spongy fat, something like that of the skinny part of a leg of mutton; from this they chiefly draw the oil.

The fins or feet are very near the body, webbed like a duck, about twelve inches wide, but in shape very much like the hand of a man: when they feed as they swim, they stoop the head down to the fore foot, as I once saw when one of them had a piece of salmon (I may say) in its hand, as I was crossing Cromarty Bay.

When they dive, they swim under water, I think I may say, a quarter of a mile together; and they dart after their prey with a surprising velocity, considering their bulk and the element they divide.

* There is a flattish fish of a very different kind, the upper part of which bears a distant, but hideous, resemblance to the human form. It is very rarely met with, but, if I remember right, there was one exhibited as a show in London, about five or six and twenty years ago. Those who are acquainted with the nature and appearance of the seal, will smile at the above description.

The fishermen take them by intercepting them in their return to the water, when they have been sleeping or basking in the sun upon the shore, and there they knock them down with their clubs. They tell me, that every grown seal is worth to them about forty shillings sterling, which arises from the skin and the oil.

When you happen to be within musket-shot of them, they are so quick with the eye, that, at the flash in the pan, they plunge so suddenly, they are under water before the ball can reach them.

I have seen ten or fifteen of them, young and old, in an arm of the sea among the mountains, which, upon the discovery of our boat, flounced into the water all at once, from a little rocky island, near the turn of a point, and raised a surprising surge round about them.

But as to their being dangerous to the fishermen, in throwing stones behind them when they are pursued, it does well enough for the volume of a travelling author, who, if he did not create wonders, or steal them from others, might have little to say; but in their scrambling flight over a beach of loose stones, it is impossible but some of them must be removed and thrown behind them; and this, no doubt, has given a hint for the romance. These writers, for the better sale of their books, depend on

the reader's love of admiration, the great assistant to credulity.

But, in particular, that those animals, with their short fins or feet, can wound at a distance, must certainly be concluded from this false principle, viz. That a stone may be sent from a sling of four inches long, with equal force, to another of as many feet.*

* It is affirmed by the Highlanders, that the seal is fond of music, and that the bag-pipe is often employed to allure him within reach of shot; and it is not certain that this is a vulgar error.—One fine day in August, when the sea was perfectly calm, being upon Loch Linne in a boat in which was a piper, and a seal appearing at a distance, going in a different direction, a Highland gentleman assured the present writer, that he could immediately recall him, and bring him up in the wake of the boat.—The boat advanced slowly; the piper played; and the seal almost immediately changed his course, and followed us for nearly two miles. The gentleman then ordered the rowers to push on with all their might for a little space, then rest upon their oars. The seal swam lustily, and seemed so taken up with the music, as not to perceive that the boat had stopt, and soon came so near, that he was fired at, at about half-shot distance. He dived, and, so far as we could see, did not come to the surface again; from which it was concluded that he was mortally wounded, as, in such a case, he is said to dive to the bottom, and roll himself up in the sea-weed till he died, *that the hunter may not get his skin and blubber!*

The sagacity of the seal, its suckling its young at the breast, and its gruntings and whinings while basking on the rocks before bad weather, obtain credit to it among the vulgar for many wonderful qualities which it does not possess.—Most superst-

Before I leave the bridge, I shall take notice of one thing more, which is commonly to be seen by the sides of the river (and not only here, but in all the parts of Scotland where I have been), that is, women with their coats tucked up, stamping, in tubs, upon linen by way of washing; and this not only in summer, but in the hardest frosty weather, when their legs and feet are almost literally as red as blood with the cold; and often two of these wenches stamp in one tub, supporting themselves by their arms thrown over each other's shoulders.

But what seems to me yet stranger is, as I have been assured by an English gentlewoman,

tions may be traced to natural causes. A very sensible and worthy countryman told the present writer, that, when a stripling, in sauntering about the shore with a fowling-piece, he one day got very near to a seal that was suckling her young upon a rock. Perceiving him, she threw the one that was at the teat into the sea; but the other being farther off, she scrambled towards it, and took it up in her mouth, rearing herself on her fins. Being clumsy and awkward in turning, she held it up in that position so long, that the idea of a mother pleading mercy for her child suggested itself so strongly to him, that he fled with horror from the spot, and could never after bear to see any one attempt to hurt a seal. He was not himself credulous; but he confessed that, when he had told the story to gaping rustics with fowling-pieces, he always descanted on the maternal affection of the seal, of which there was no doubt, and *left her rationality to be understood.*

that they have insisted with her to have the liberty of washing at the river; and, as people pass by, they divert themselves by talking very freely to them, like our codders, and other women, employed in the fields and gardens about London.

What I have said above, relating to their washing at the river in a hard frost, may require an explanation, viz. the river Ness, like the lake from whence it comes, never freezes, from the great quantity of sulphur with which it is impregnated; but, on the contrary, will dissolve the icicles, contracted from other waters, at the horses' heels, in a very short space of time.

From the Tolbooth, or county gaol, the greatest part of the murderers and other notorious villains, that have been committed since I have been here, have made their escape; and I think this has manifestly proceeded from the furtherance or connivance of the keepers, or rather their keepers.

When this evil has been complained of, the excuse was, the prison is a weak old building, and the town is not in condition to keep it in repair: but, for my own part, I cannot help concluding, from many circumstances, that the greatest part of these escapes have been the consequence, either of clan-interest or clannish terror. As for example, if one of the magis-

trates were a Cameron (for the purpose), the criminal (Cameron) must not suffer, if the clan be desirous he should be saved. In short, they have several other ties or attachments one to another, which occasion (like money in the south) this partiality.

When any ship in these parts is bound for the West Indies, to be sure a neighbouring chief,* of whom none dares openly to complain, has several thieves to send prisoners to town.

It has been whispered, their crimes were only asking their dues, and such-like offences; and I have been well assured, they have been threatened with hanging, or at least perpetual imprisonment, to intimidate and force them to sign a contract for their banishment, which they seldom refused to do, as knowing there would be no want of witnesses against them, however innocent they were; and then they

* The Scotish barons or lairds, however small their freeholds, had a title to sit in parliament. In civil matters they could decide questions of debt, and many of possession, within their baronies, regulate work and wages, and enforce the payment of their rents: all criminal cases fell under the cognizance of the laird, except treason and the four pleas of the crown: he had the power of pit and gallows, or drowning female and hanging male culprits convicted of theft or robbery; and his jurisdiction comprised many penal statutes.—*Pinkerton*, vol. i. p. 366.

were put on board the ship, the master paying so much a-head for them.*

Thus two purposes were served at once, viz. the getting rid of troublesome fellows, and making money of them at the same time: but these poor wretches never escaped out of prison.

All this I am apt to believe, because I met with an example, at his own house, which leaves me no room to doubt it.

As this chief was walking alone, in his garden, with his dirk and pistol by his side, and a gun in his hand (as if he feared to be assassinated), and, as I was reading in his parlour, there came to me by stealth (as I soon perceived), a young fellow, who accosted me with such an accent as made me conclude he was a native of Middlesex; and every now and then he turned about, as if he feared to be observed by any of the family.

He told me, that when his master was in London, he had made him promises of great advantage, if he would serve him as his gentleman; but, though he had been there two years, he could not obtain either his wages or discharge.

* It seems the Scots understood *crimping for the plantations* as well as their neighbours; but they gave at least an appearance of justice to it.

And, says he, when I ask for either of them, he tells me I know I have robbed him, and nothing is more easy for him than to find, among these Highlanders, abundant evidence against me (innocent as I am); and then my fate must be a perpetual gaol or transportation: and there is no means for me to make my escape, being here in the midst of his clan, and never suffered to go far from home.

You will believe I was much affected with the melancholy circumstance of the poor young man; but told him, that my speaking for him would discover his complaint to me, which might enrage his master; and, in that case, I did not know what might be the consequence to him.

Then, with a sorrowful look, he left me, and (as it happened) in very good time.

This chief does not think the present abject disposition of his clan towards him to be sufficient, but entertains that tyrannical and detestable maxim,—that to render them poor, will double the tie of their obedience; and accordingly he mak es use of all oppressive means to that end.

To prevent any diminution of the number of those who do not offend him, he dissuades from their purpose all such as show an inclination to traffic, or to put their children out to trades,

as knowing they would, by such an alienation, shake off at least good part of their slavish attachment to him and his family. This he does, when downright authority fails, by telling them how their ancestors chose to live sparingly, and be accounted a martial people, rather than submit themselves to low and mercenary employments like the Lowlanders, whom their forefathers always despised for the want of that warlike temper which they (his vassals) still retained, &c.

I shall say no more of this chief at present, because I may have occasion to speak of him again when I come to that part which is properly called Highlands; but I cannot so easily dismiss his maxim, without some little animadversion upon it.

It may, for aught I know, be suitable to clannish power; but, in general, it seems quite contrary to reason, justice, and nature, that any one person, from the mere accident of his birth, should have the prerogative to oppress a whole community, for the gratification of his own selfish views and inclinations: and I cannot but think, the concerted poverty of a people is, of all oppressions, the strongest instigation to sedition, rebellion, and plunder.

The town-hall is a plain building of rubble; and there is one room in it, where the magis-

rates meet upon the town business, which would be tolerably handsome, but the walls are rough, not white-washed, or so much as plastered; and no furniture in it but a table, some bad chairs, and altogether immoderately dirty.

The market-cross is the exchange of the merchants, and other men of business.

There they stand in the middle of the dirty street, and are frequently interrupted in their negociations by horses and carts, which often separate them one from another in the midst of their bargains or other affairs. But this is nothing extraordinary in Scotland; for it is the same in other towns, and even at the cross* of Edinburgh.

* Dunedin's Cross, a pillar'd stone,
Rose on a turret octagon;
But now is razed that monument,
Whence royal edict rang,
And voice of Scotland's law was sent,
In glorious trumpet clang.
O! be his tomb as lead to lead,
Upon its dull destroyer's head!
A minstrel's malison is said. *Marmion.*

There is now no *cross* in the market-place of Edinburgh, except when, to the great distress and annoyance of the neighbourhood, a *gallows* is erected there, which we are assured will never occur again; but, although a handsome exchange has been built for the merchants, they still continue to crowd and incommode the streets. A few months ago, the magistrates attempted to enforce

Over-against the cross is the coffee-house. A gentleman, who loves company and play, keeps it for his diversion; for so I am told by the people of the town; but he has condescended to complain to me of the little he gets by his countrymen.

As to a description of the coffee-room, the furniture, and utensils, I must be excused in that particular, for it would not be a very decent one; but I shall venture to tell you in general, that the room appears as if it had never been cleaned since the building of the house; and, in frost and snow, you might cover the peat-fire with your hands.

Near the extreme part of the town, toward the north, there are two churches, one for the English and the other for the Irish tongue, both out of repair, and much as clean as the other churches I have seen.

This puts me in mind of a story I was told by an English lady, wife of a certain lieutenant-colonel, who dwelt near a church in the low-country on your side Edinburgh. At first

order, and oblige them to repair to the exchange. This alarmed the *friends of liberty*, who, with a spirit every way worthy of our *Athens of the North*, persist in asserting their privilege of transacting business, in all seasons and all weathers, in the street! What they would do, if the exchange were shut against them, it is easy to divine.

coming to the place, she received a visit from the minister's wife, who, after some time spent in ordinary discourse, invited her to come to kirk the Sunday following. To this the lady agreed, and kept her word, which produced a second visit; and the minister's wife then asking her how she liked their way of worship, she answered—Very well; but she had found two great inconveniences there, viz. that she had dirtied her clothes, and had been pestered with a great number of fleas. "Now," says the lady, "if your husband will give me leave to line the pew, and will let my servant clean it against every Sunday, I shall go constantly to church."

"Line the pew!" says the minister's wife: "troth, madam, I cannot promise for that, for my husband will think it *rank papery*."

A little beyond the churches is the church-yard; where, as is usual in Scotland, the monuments are placed against the wall that encloses it, because, to admit them into the church, would be an intolerable ornament.* The inscriptions, I think, are much upon a par with those of our country church-yards, but the monuments are some of them very handsome and costly. I cannot say much as to the taste, but

* To counterbalance this, they have the good sense not to suffer dead bodies to be buried in their churches.

they have a good deal of ornament about them.

Even the best sort of street houses, in all the great towns of the Low country, are, for the most part, contrived after one manner, with a stair case without-side,* either round or square, which leads to each floor, as I mentioned in my last letter.

By the way, they call a floor a house; the whole building is called a land; an alley, as I said before, is a *wynde;* a little court, or a turn-again alley, is a *closs;* a round stair-case, a *turnpike;* and a square one goes by the name of a *skale stair*. In this town the houses are so differently modelled, they cannot be brought under any general description; but commonly the back part, or one end,† is turned toward the street, and you pass by it through a short alley into a little court-yard, to ascend by stairs above the first story. This lowest stage of the building has a door toward the street, and serves for a shop or a warehouse, but has no communication with the rest.

The houses are for the most part low, because of the violent flurries of wind which often

* At present, when these are once pulled down, they are never suffered to be rebuilt.

† This *Flemish* style of building was common in all the towns on the Murray Frith, as well as in some parts of South Wales.

pour upon the town from the openings of the adjacent mountains, and are built with rubble-stone, as are all the houses in every other town of Scotland that I have seen, except Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Stirling, and Aberdeen; where some of them are faced with Ashler stone; but the four streets of Glasgow, as I have said before, are so from one end to the other.

The rubble walls of these houses are composed of stones of different shapes and sizes; and many of them, being pebbles, are almost round, which, in laying them, leave large gaps, and on the outside they fill up those interstices by driving in flat stones of a small size; and, in the end, face the work all over with mortar thrown against it with a trowel, which they call *harling*.

This rough-casting is apt to be damaged by the weather, and must be sometimes renewed, otherwise some of the stones will drop out.

It is true, this is not much unlike the way of building in some remote parts of England; only there, the stones are squarer, and more nearly proportioned one to another: but I have been thus particular, because I have often heard it said by some of the Scots in London, before I knew any thing of Scotland, that the houses were all built with stone, as despising our

bricks, and concealing the manner and appearance of their buildings.

This gave me a false idea of magnificence, both as to beauty and expence, by comparing them in my thoughts with our stone buildings in the south, which are costly, scarce, and agreeable to the eye.

The chasms in the inside and middle of these walls, and the disproportionate quantity of mortar, by comparison, with the stone, render them receptacles for prodigious numbers of rats, which scratch their way from the inside of the house half through the wall, where they burrow and breed securely, and by that means abound every where in the small Scots towns, especially near the sea. But among the inner parts of the mountains I never saw or heard of any such thing, except, upon recollection, in a part called Coulnakyle, in Strathspey, to which place I have been told they were brought, in the year 1723, from a ship, among some London goods.

They were then thought by the inhabitants to be a sure presage of good luck; and so indeed they were, for much money followed: but when those works are at an end, I believe famine, or another transportation, must be the fate of the vermin.

I have been credibly informed, that when

the rats have been increased to a great degree in some small villages, and could hardly subsist, they have crept into the little horses' manes and tails (which are always tangled and matted, being never combed), in order to be transported to other places, as it were, to plant new colonies, or to find fresh quarters, less burdened with numbers. And I was lately told by a countryman that lives about two miles off, who brought me a bundle of straw, that having slept in a stable here, he carried home one of them in his plaid. But such numbers of them are seen by the morning twilight in the streets, for water, after dry weather succeeded by a shower of rain, as is incredible: and (what at first seemed strange to me) among them several weasels. You will certainly say I was distressed for want of matter, when I dwelt so long upon rats; but they are an intolerable nuisance.

The houses of this town were neither sashed nor slated before the union, as I have been informed by several old people; and to this day the ceilings are rarely plastered: nothing but the single boards serve for floor and ceiling, and the partitions being often composed of upright boards only, they are sometimes shrunk, and any body may not only hear, but see, what passes in the room adjoining.*

* The hardihood of the Highlanders, in regard to some of their

When first I came to this country, I observed in the floor of several houses a good number of circles of about an inch diameter, and likewise some round holes of the same size, the meaning of which I did not then understand; but, not long after, I discovered the cause of those inconvenient apertures.

These, in great measure, lay the family below open to those that are above, who, on their part, are incommoded with the voices of the others.

The boards, when taken from the saw-mill, are bored at a good distance from one end of them, for the conveniency of their way of carriage.

domestic acccommodations, is thus described by Mrs. Murray:—"I found Mr. M'Rae's *shilin* a miserable hut, on a moor, bare of every thing but stones. I was obliged to stoop when I entered, and in the inside of it I could scarcely stand upright: its walls are of loose stones, its roof heath, which slopes to the stones within four feet of the ground. The floor is full of holes, and when I was there very wet. It consists of three partitions,—the entrance, a bed-place, a common room, and a closet behind the entrance. Planks, ill put together, form these divisions; and the bed-place having no door to it, Mrs. M'Rae hooked up a blanket to screen me from public view; but from the eyes of the closetted family I could not be screened, as the planks stood at a considerable distance from each other. The window is about a foot square, having the ends of the heath in the roof hanging over it, which almost precludes both light and air.—*Murray's Guide*, vol. ii. p. 432.

They put a cord (or a *woodie* * as they call it) through the holes of several of them, to keep them flat to the horses' side, and the corners of the other end drag upon the ground; but before these boards are laid in the floor the holes are filled up with plugs, which they cut away, even with the surface on each side; and when these stop-gaps shrink, they drop out, and are seldom supplied.

Those houses that are not sashed, have two shutters that turn upon hinges for the lower half of the window, and only the upper part is glazed; so that there is no seeing any thing in the street, in bad weather, without great inconvenience.

Asking the reason of this, I was told that these people still continue those shutters as an old custom which was at first occasioned by danger; for that formerly, in their clan-quarrels, several had been shot from the opposite side of the way, when they were in their chambers, and by these shutters they were concealed and in safety; but I believe the true reason is, the saving the expence of glass, for it is the same in the out-parts of all the towns and cities in the Low country.

* A *woodie*, or *withie*, is a rope made of twisted wands, such as were probably once used for hanging people; for *the woodie* means the *gallows*.

LETTER IV.

Without any long preface, I shall make this letter a continuation of the descriptions I have entered into; but, at the same time, am not without fear that my former was rather dry and tedious to you, than informing and diverting; and this I apprehend the more, because good part of it was not agreeable to myself.

What I have hitherto said, with respect to the buildings of this town, relates only to the principal part of the streets; the middling sort of houses, as in other towns, are very low, and have generally a close wooden-stair case before the front. By one end of this you ascend, and in it above are small round or oval holes, just big enough for the head to go through; and in summer, or when any thing extraordinary happens in the street to excite the curiosity of the inhabitants, they look like so many people with their heads in the pillory.

But the extreme parts of the town are made up of most miserably low, dirty hovels, faced and covered with turf, with a bottomless tub, or basket, in the roof for a chimney.

The pavement here is very good; but, as in other small towns where the streets are narrow, it is so much rounded, that when it is dry, it is dangerous to ride, insomuch that horses which are shod are often falling; and when it is dirty, and beginning to dry, it is slippery to the feet, for in Scotland you walk generally in the middle of the streets.

I asked the magistrates one day, when the dirt was almost above one's shoes, why they suffered the town to be so excessively dirty, and did not employ people to cleanse the street? The answer was, "It will not be long before we have a shower."

But as to the slipperiness, we have many principal towns in England paved with small pebbles, that, going down hill, or along a slope, are not less dangerous to ride over, especially in dry weather.

Some of the houses are marked on the outside with the first letters of the owner's name, and that of his wife if he be a married man. This is, for the most part, over the uppermost window; as, for example, CM. MM. Charles Maclean, Margaret Mackenzie; for the woman writes her maiden name after marriage; and supposing her to be a widow that has had several husbands, if she does not choose to continue the use of her maiden name, she may

take the name of either of her deceased husbands, as she thinks fit. This you may be sure has been the cause of many a joke among our countrymen, in supposing something extraordinary in that man above the rest, whose name, after all, she chose to bear.

Within-doors, upon the chimney-piece of one of the rooms, in some houses, there are likewise initial letters of the proprietor's name, with a scrap of their poetry, of which I shall give you only two instances One of them is as follows:

"16 WMB As with the fire, EMP 94
So with thy God do stand;
Keep not far off,
Nor come thou too near hand."

The other is:

" 16 Christ is my life and rent, 78
His promise is my evident.
LS HF"

The word *evident* alludes to the owner's title to the house, the same signifying, in Scotland, a title-deed.

I had forgot to mention an inscription upon the outside of one of those houses, viz.

" Our building is not here, but we
Hope for ane better in Christ."

I was saying in my last letter, that here the

ground-floors are called warehouses; they are so, but they would seem very odd to you under that denomination.

There is, indeed, a shop up a pair of stairs, which is kept by three or four merchants in partnership, and that is pretty well stored with various sorts of small goods and wares, mostly from London. This shop is called, by way of eminence, *the warehouse:* here (for the purpose) a hat, which with you would cost thirteen or fourteen shillings, goes by the established name of a *guinea hat,* and other things are much in the same proportion.*

I remember to have read, in one of the Tatlers or Spectators, a piece of ridicule upon the French vanity, where it is said, that a barber writes upon his sign, *Magazin de Peruques;* and a cobler upon an old boot, *La Botte Royale,* &c.; but I am sorry to say, that, of late, something of this kind has crept into our proud metropolis; for here and there you may now see an ordinary shop dubbed with the important title of a *warehouse*:—this I think is no good presage.

But to return to the general run of warehouses in this town. It is true some of them

* *Bonnets* were the manufacture and common wear of the country, and none but gentlemen, clergymen, &c. wore hats, and of these very few were wanted.

contain hogsheads of French wines, pieces of brandy, and other goods that will not be spoiled by dampness; but the cargo of others, that I have happened to see open, have consisted chiefly of empty casks and bottles, hoops, chalk (which last is not to be found in this country), and other merchandise of like value. On this side the Tweed many things are aggrandized, in imitation of their ancient allies (as they call them), the French.

A pedling shopkeeper, that sells a penny-worth of thread, is a *merchant;* the person who is sent for that thread has received a *commission;* and, bringing it to the sender, is making *report.* A bill to let you know there is a single room to be let, is called a *placard;* the doors are *ports;* an enclosed field of two acres is a *park;* and the wife of a laird of fifteen pounds a year is a *lady;* and treated with—your *ladyship.**

* These are mere matters of dialect, not of vanity, for which the Scots deserve as little ridicule as the English do, when they talk of a *bailiff*, a *constable*, a *duke* (in the cradle), or any other misnamed thing that can be imagined; or of getting upon the back of a cart-horse, and *carrying* him to grass;—or as a German bridegroom does when he sends his English friend a card, couched in the usual terms of courtesy, to beg he will honour him with his company on Friday next, to witness his *copulation* (bethrothing) with the Fraulein B., and on the Thursday after, to celebrate his wedding. The term *laird* is only the northern form of *lord*, and means, as in English, a *master;* more parti-

I am not unaware it may be objected, with respect to the word *merchant*, that in France it signifies no more than a shopkeeper, or other small dealer, and that the exporter and importer are called *un negociant;* and it may be said by these people, they use the word in the same sense; but, if that were granted, would it not be more proper, in correspondence, to make use of words suited to the acceptation of the country corresponded to?

A friend of mine told me, when I was last in London, that he had received, some time before, a bill of exchange from this country, directed to ————, merchant, in London. You know it is deemed a kind of affront among real merchants, to be too particularly pointed out in a direction, as supposing them not well known, no not even at the Royal Exchange and Post-office.—But, as I was saying, this Scots merchant was sought after for several days upon 'Change, and the Scots Walk in particular, but nobody knew any thing of him; till at length,

cularly, the *master of a manor*. *Lady* is, by use at least, the feminine of *lord;* but when, in our author's time, contrary to the usage of the south, the wife of the proprietor of a paltry tenement was called *Lady Caldhame*, *Lady Hungry Nook*, *Lady Middendubs*, or whatever her husband's place might be, it was a matter of convenience entirely, as there were no other decent means of distinguishing her and her husband from others of the same clan and name by whom they were surrounded.

by mere accident, he was found to lodge up two pair of stairs, at a little house over against London Wall.

Would it not have been more reasonable to have given upon the bill a full direction to his place of abode (and called him *esquire*, if his correspondent pleased), than to send people in this manner upon a wild-goose chase?

I will not suppose one part of the design in it to be the gaining of time before the merchant could be found out; but there are evidently two other reasons for such blind directions, *viz.*—they serve to give weight to their bills at home, and, as they think, an air of importance to their correspondence and countrymen in London; but, in reality, all this serves but to render the drawer and accepter ridiculous in the end.

I am told once a week that the *gentlewoman* that washes my linen is below, and frequently hear something or other of a *gentleman* that keeps a *change* not far from hence.* They call

* This was not the language or use of Scotland; but the English in that country applied such terms in derision, or, as scavengers in a gin-shop call each other *gentlemen*, and the lower class of Scots, supposing it to be considered as polite by the English, imitated their phraseology in speaking *to them*. Something of the kind is still found in Inverness, Fort Augustus, and Fort William, but they learnt it from the garrisons placed among them.

an alehouse a change, and think a man of a good family suffers no diminution of his gentility to keep it, though his house and sale are too inconsiderable to be mentioned without the appearance of burlesque.

I was once surprised to see a neighbouring lord dismount from his horse, take an alehouse-keeper in his arms, kiss him, and make him as many compliments as if he had been a brother peer. I could not help asking his lordship the meaning of that great familiarity; and he told me that my landlord was of as good a family as any in Scotland, but that the *laird* his father had a great many children, and but little to give them. By the way, in the Lowlands, where there are some few signs at public-houses, I have seen written upon several—*Mr.* Alexander, or *Mr.* James such-a-one: this is a token that the man of the house is a gentleman*

* The inhabitants of mountains form distinct races, and are careful to preserve their genealogies. Men in a small district necessarily mingle blood by intermarriages, and combine at last into one family, with a common interest in the honour and disgrace of every individual. Then begins that union of affections, and co-operation of endeavours, that constitute a clan. They who consider themselves as ennobled by their family, will think highly of their progenitors; and they who, through successive generations, live always together in the same place, will preserve local stories and hereditary prejudices. Thus every Highlander can talk of his ancestors, and recount the outrages which they

either by birth, or that he has taken his master-of-arts degree at the university.

I shall give you but one more instance of this kind of gentility.

At a town called Nairne, not far from hence, an officer who hoped to get a recruit or two (though contrary to an order to enlist no Scotsman while the regiment was in Scotland, because otherwise, in the course of several years, it might, by mortality, become almost a Scots regiment instead of English),—I say, this officer sent for a piper to play about the town before the serjeant, as more agreeable to the people than a drum.

After some time, our landlord came to us, and, for an introduction, told us the piper was a very good *gentleman*, thinking, I suppose, that otherwise we should not show him due respect according to his rank. He then went out, and, returning with him, he introduced our musician to us, who entered the room, like a Spaniard, with a grave air and stately step: at first he seemed to expect we should treat him according to the custom of the country, by asking him to sit and take a glass with us; but we were not well enough bred for that, and let him stand, with a disappointed countenance, to

suffered from the wicked inhabitants of the next valley.—*Johnson's Journey.* Works, vol. viii. 260.

hear what was to be his employment. This we partly did, as knowing we had in reserve a better way of making our court.

In the evening, when he returned with the serjeant, our landlord made him a kind of speech before us, telling him (for he came two miles) that we had sent to him rather than any other, having heard how excellent he was in his way, and at the same time stole into his hand the two shillings that were ordered him with as much caution as if he had been bribing at an election, or feeing an attorney-general before company.

'Twas now quite another countenance; and, being pleased with his reward (which was great in this country, being no less than one pound four shillings), he expressed his gratitude by playing a *voluntary** on his pipe for more than half an hour, as he strided backward and forward, out-side the house, under our window.

* An Englishman taking a *piobrach* for a *voluntary* is pleasant enough.—Those who are not acquainted with that singular and characteristic species of composition, have now a fair opportunity of appreciating its merits, as two of the most celebrated piobrachs, with admirable songs by Mr. Scott, have been subjected, for the first time, to regular musical notation, by Mr. Campbell, and published in his valuable collection of Border and Highland Melodies, intitled "Albyn's Anthology."

Here is gentility in disguise;—and I am sorry to say that this kind of vanity in people of no fortune makes them ridiculous to strangers, and I wish they could divest themselves of it, and apply to something more substantial than the airy notion of *ancient family*, which, by extending our thoughts, we shall find may be claimed by all mankind.

But it may be said that this pretension procures them some respect from those who are every way their equals, if not superior to them, except in this particular. This I grant, and there lies the mischief; for by that flattering conceit, and the respect shown them, they are brought to be ashamed of honest employments, which perhaps they want as much or more than the others, and which might be advantageous to them, their families, and country.

Thus you see a gentleman may be a mercenary piper, or keep a little alehouse where he brews his drink in a kettle; but to be of any working trade, however profitable, would be a disgrace to him, his present relations, and all his ancestry. If this be not a proper subject of ridicule, I think there never was any such thing.

But to return to town after my ramble: here is a melancholy appearance of objects in the streets;—in one part the poor women, maid-

servants, and children, in the coldest weather, in the dirt or in snow, either walking or standing to talk with one another, without stockings or shoes. In another place, you see a man dragging along a half-starved horse little bigger than an ass, in a cart about the size of a wheelbarrow. One part of his plaid is wrapt round his body, and the rest is thrown over his left shoulder; and every now and then he turns himself about, either to adjust his mantle, when blown off by the wind or fallen by his stooping, or to thump the poor little horse with a great stick. The load in his cart, if compact, might be carried under his arm; but he must not bear any burden himself, though his wife has, perhaps, at the same time, a greater load on her loins than he has in his cart:—I say on her loins, for the women carry fish, and other heavy burdens, in the same manner as the Scots pedlars carry their packs in England.

The poor men are seldom barefoot in the town, but wear *brogues*,* a sort of pumps

* In a curious document presented to Henry the Eighth, by one John Eldar, a clergyman, there is the following singular passage: "And again in winter, when the frost is most vehement (as I have said), which we cannot suffer bare-footed, so well as snow which can never hurt us; when it comes to our girdles we go a-hunting, and after that we have slain red-deer, we flay off the skin by-and-by; and setting of our bare foot on the inside thereof, for want of cunning shoemakers by your Grace's pardon,

without heels, which keep them little more from the wet and dirt than if they had none, but they serve to defend their feet from the gravel and stones.

They have three several sorts of carts, of which that species wherein they carry their peats (being a light kind of loading) is the largest; but as they too are very small, their numbers are sometimes so great, that they fill up one of the streets (which is the market for that fuel) in such manner, it is impossible to pass by them on horseback, and difficult on foot.

It is really provoking to see the idleness and inhumanity of some of the leaders of this sort of carts; for, as they are something higher than the horse's tail, in the motion they keep rubbing against it till the hair is worn off, and the dock quite raw, without any care being taken to prevent it, or to ease the hurt when discovered.

Some of these carts are led by women, who

we play the coblers, compassing and measuring so much thereof as shall reach up to our ankles, pricking the upper part thereof with holes, that the water may repass where it enters, and stretching it up with a strong thong of the same above our said ankles. So, and please your noble Grace, we make our shoes. Therefore we using such manner of shoes, the rough hairy side outward, in your Grace's dominion of England we be called *rough-footed* Scots."—*Pinkerton's Scotland*, vol. ii. 396.

In the Lowlands of Scotland, the *rough-footed* Highlanders were called *red-shanks*, from the colour of the red-deer hair.

are generally bare-foot, with a blanket for the covering of their bodies, and in cold or wet weather they bring it quite over them. At other times they wear a piece of linen upon their heads, made up like a napkin-cap in an inn, only not tied at top, but hanging down behind.

Instead of ropes for halters and harness, they generally make use of sticks of birch twisted and knotted together; these are called *woodies;* but some few have ropes made of the manes and tails of their horses, which are shorn in the spring for that purpose.

The horse-collar and crupper are made of straw-bands; and, to save the horse's back, they put under the cart-saddle a parcel of old rags.

Their horses are never dressed or shod, and appear, as we say, as ragged as colts. In short, if you were to see the whole equipage, you would not think it possible for any droll-painter to invent so perfect a picture of misery.*

If the horse carries any burden upon his back, a stick of a yard long goes across, under his tail, for a crupper; but this I have seen in prints of the loaded mules in Italy.

* In a country without agriculture, and without roads, harness is so seldom wanted, that they did not think of encumbering themselves with any permanent apparatus of that kind. They prepared it on the spur of the occasion; and when the work was done, threw it on the fire; as they built a dwelling-house, with the view of throwing it on the dung-hill in four or five years.

When the carter has had occasion to turn about one sort of these carts in a narrow place, I have seen him take up the cart, wheels and all, and walk round with it, while the poor little horse has been struggling to keep himself from being thrown.

The wheels, when new, are about a foot and half high, but are soon worn very small: they are made of three pieces of plank, pinned together at the edges like the head of a butter-firkin, and the axletree goes round with the wheel; which, having some part of the circumference with the grain and other parts not, it wears unequally, and in a little time is rather angular than round, which causes a disagreeable noise as it moves upon the stones.

I have mentioned these carts, horses, and drivers, or rather draggers of them, not as immediately relating to the town, but as they increase, in great measure, the wretched appearance in the streets; for these carters, for the most part, live in huts dispersed in the adjacent country. There is little need of carts for the business of the town; and when a hogshead of wine has been to be carried to any part not very far distant, it has been placed upon a kind of frame among four horses, two on a side, following each other; for not far off, except along the sea-coast and some new road, the ways are so rough and rocky that no wheel ever turned

upon them since the formation of this globe; and, therefore, if the townsmen were furnished with sufficient wheel-carriages for goods of great weight, they would be seldom useful.

The description of these puny vehicles brings to my memory how I was entertained with the surprise and amusement of the common people in this town, when, in the year 1725, a chariot with six monstrous great horses arrived here, by way of the sea-coast. An elephant, publicly exposed in one of the streets of London, could not have excited greater admiration. One asked what the chariot was: another, who had seen the gentleman alight, told the first, with a sneer at his ignorance, it was a great cart to carry people in, and such like. But since the making of some of the roads, I have passed through them with a friend, and was greatly delighted to see the Highlanders run from their huts close to the chariot, and, looking up, bow with their bonnets to the coachman,* little regarding us that were within.

It is not unlikely they looked upon him as a kind of prime-minister, that guided so important a machine; and perhaps they might think that we were his masters, but had delivered the reins

* The Highlanders are too social, good-humoured, and well-bred, to pass any stranger without a cordial greeting, and the same observation applies to the country people in the Lowlands.

into his hands, and, at that time, had little or no will of our own, but suffered ourselves to be conducted by him as he thought fit; and therefore their addresses were directed to the minister, at least in the first place; for motion would not allow us to see a second bow, if they were inclined to make it.

It is a common thing for the poorest sort hereabouts to lead their horses out in summer, when they have done their work, and attend them while they graze by the sides of the roads and edges of the corn-fields, where there is any little grass to be had without a trespass; and generally they hold them all the while by the halter, for they are certainly punished if it be known they encroached ever so little upon a field, of which none are enclosed. In like manner, you may see a man tending a single cow for the greatest part of the day. * In winter the horse is allowed

* The affectionate attention shewn by the family of a cottage to ——— " dawtil twall pint hawkie,

" That yont the hallan snugly chows her cood,"

is very natural. She is their great benefactress, furnishes their only luxury, and, living under the same roof, may almost be said to be their companion at bed and board. With the cows and few sheep belonging to a cottager, or small farmer, in the north of Scotland, Sunday, during the fine season, is always a festival. The family rise early in the morning, and take them, as here described, from one spot of sweet tender grass to another, till church-time.

no more provender than will barely keep him alive, and sometimes not even that; for I have known almost two hundred of them, near the town, to die of mere want, within a small compass of time. You will find in another letter how I came to know their numbers.

Certainly nothing can be more disagreeable than to see them pass the streets before this mortality, hanging down their heads, reeling with weakness; and having spots of their skins, of a foot diameter, appearing without hair, the effect of their exceeding poverty: but the mares, in particular, are yet a more unseemly sight.

When the grass in the season is pretty well grown, the country people cut it, and bring it green to the town for sale, to feed the horses that are kept in it; as others likewise do to Edinburgh, where there is a spacious street, known by the name of the Grass-market; and this is customary in all the parts of the Low country where I have been, at the time of the year for that kind of marketing.

During the day, they are committed to the care of some half-grown girl, if there be such in the family, who may be seen, with a New Testament, Catechism, or other religious book in her hand, in some small place where the grass is better, but where time cannot be spared on a week-day to tend them.—When she goes home in the evening, she must give an account of what she has read during the day.

Hay is here a rare commodity indeed; sometimes there is none at all; and I have had it brought me forty miles by sea, at the rate of half-a-crown or three shillings a truss. I have given twenty-pence for a bundle of straw, not more than one of our trusses, and oats have cost me at the rate of four shillings a bushel, otherwise I must have seen, as we say, my horses' skins stripped over their ears. But this is not always the case; for sometimes, after the harvest, oats and straw have been pretty reasonable.

A certain officer, soon after his arrival at this town, observing in what a miserable state the horses were, and finding his own would cost him more in keeping than was well consistent with his pay, shot them. And being asked why he did not rather choose to sell them, though but for a small matter, his answer was, they were old servants and his compassion for them would not suffer him to let them fall into the hands of such keepers. And indeed the town horses are but sparingly fed, as you may believe, especially when their provender is at such an extravagant price.

Here are four or five fairs in the year, when the Highlanders bring their commodities to market: but, good God! you could not conceive there was such misery in this island.

One has under his arm a small roll of linen, another a piece of coarse plaiding: these are considerable dealers. But the merchandise of the greatest part of them is of a most contemptible value, such as these, *viz.*—two or three cheeses, of about three or four pounds weight a-piece; a kid sold for sixpence or eight-pence at the most; a small quantity of butter, in something that looks like a bladder, and is sometimes set down upon the dirt in the street; three or four goat-skins; a piece of wood for an axletree to one of the little carts, &c. With the produce of what each of them sells, they generally buy something, *viz.*—a horn, or wooden spoon or two, a knife, a wooden platter, and such-like necessaries for their huts, and carry home with them little or no money.*

P. S. You may see one eating a large onion without salt or bread; another gnawing a carrot, &c. These are raities not to be had in their own parts of the country.

* This is an admirable picture of an Inverness market, the justice of which may be recognised at this day. Wooden spoons are used in Wales and some parts of England, but not in Scotland, where the lower class of people use only horn

LETTER V.

I ALMOST long for the time when I may expect your thoughts of my letters relating to this country, and should not at all be surprised to find you say, as they do after ten o'clock at night in the wyndes and closes of Edinburgh, "—— Haud your haunde."

But if that should be the case, I can plead your injunction and the nature of the subject.

Upon second thoughts, I take it, we are just even with one another; for you cannot complain that these letters are not satisfactory, because I have been only doing the duty of a friend, by endeavouring to gratify your curiosity; nor can I find any cause of blame in you, since you could not possibly conceive the consequence of the task you enjoined me. But, according to my promise, to continue my account of our Highland fair.

If you would conceive righly of it, you must imagine you see two or three hundred half-naked, half-starved creatures of both sexes, without so much as a smile or any cheerfulness

among them, stalking about with goods, such as I have described, up to their ankles in dirt; and at night numbers of them lying together in stables, or other outhouse hovels that are hardly any defence against the weather. I am speaking of a winter fair, for in summer the greatest part of them lie about in the open country.

The gentlemen, magistrates, merchants, and shopkeepers, are dressed after the English manner, and make a good appearance enough, according to their several ranks, and the working tradesmen are not very ill clothed; and now and then, to relieve your eyes yet more from these frequent scenes of misery, you see some of their women of fashion: I say sometimes, for they go seldom abroad; but, when they appear, they are generally well dressed in the English mode.

As I have touched upon the dress of the men, I shall give you a notable instance of precaution used by some of them against the tailor's purloining.

This is to buy every thing that goes to the making of a suit of clothes, even to the stay-tape and thread; and when they are to be delivered out, they are, all together, weighed before the tailor's face.

And when he brings home the suit, it is again put into the scale with the shreds of every

sort, and it is expected the whole shall answer the original weight. But I was told in Edinburgh of the same kind of circumspection, but not as a common practice.

The plaid * is the undress of the ladies; and to a genteel woman, who adjusts it with a good air, is a becoming veil. But as I am pretty sure you never saw one of them in England, I shall employ a few words to describe it to you. It is made of silk or fine worsted, chequered with various lively colours, two breadths wide, and three yards in length; it is brought over the head, and may hide or discover the face according to the wearer's fancy or occasion: it reaches to the waist behind; one corner falls as low as the ankle on one side; and the other part, in folds, hangs down from the opposite arm.

* The plaid is made of fine wool, the thread as fine as can be made of that kind: it consists of divers colours; and there is a great deal of ingenuity required in sorting the colours, so as to be agreeable to the nicest fancy. For this reason, the women are at great pains, first, to give an exact pattern of the plaid upon a piece of wood, having the number of every thread of the stripe on it. The length of it is commonly seven double ells; the one end hangs by the middle over the left arm, the other going round the body hangs by the end over the left arm also. The right-hand above it is to be at liberty to do any thing upon occasion. Every isle differs from each other, in the fancy of making plaids, as to the stripes in breadth and colours.—*Martyn's Western Islands*, 208.

I have been told, in Edinburgh, that the ladies distinguish their political principles, whether Whig or Tory, by the manner of wearing their plaids;—that is, one of the parties reverses the old fashion, but which of them it is, I do not remember, nor is it material.

I do assure you we have here, among the better sort, a full proportion of pretty women, as indeed there is all over Scotland.* But, pray remember, I now anticipate the jest, "That women grow handsomer and handsomer the longer one continues from home."

The men have more regard to the comeliness of their posterity, than in those countries where a large fortune serves to soften the hardest features, and even to make the crooked straight; and, indeed, their definition of a fine woman seems chiefly to be directed to that purpose; for, after speaking of her face, they say, "She's a fine, healthy, straight, strong, strapping lassie."†

* One may live to old age in Scotland without ever seeing a discoloured tooth in the mouth of a young woman; fine teeth, of course, make little distinction where all are good: but they have a common habit of keeping the mouth open, even in towns, which, to strangers, at first, gives their countenance an appearance of want of expression.

† In the ages of chivalry, bodily strength was so necessary for a gentleman, that he was obliged to pay attention to the breed of his children, as well as of his chargers. This is no

I fancy now I hear one of our delicate ladies say, " 'Tis just so they would describe a Flander's mare." I am not for confounding the characters of the two sexes one with another; but I should not care to have my son a valetudinary being, partaking of his mother's nice constitution.

I was once commending, to a lady of fortune in London, the upright, firm, yet easy manner of the ladies walking in Edinburgh. And when I had done, she fluttered her fan, and with a kind of disdain, mixed with jealousy to hear them commended, she said, " Mr. ——, I do not at all wonder at that, they are *used to walk*."

My next subject is to be the servants. I know little remarkable of the men, only that they are generally great lovers of ale; but my poor maids, if I may judge of others by what

no longer the case; but among the poorer sort it must still be attended to. In this particular, however, there is a wide difference between the Scots and English. In England, where the parish is obliged to provide for all who cannot, or will not, provide for themselves; when a labourer or mechanic pays his addresses to a girl of his own rank, the great question is, *can he keep her?*—In Scotland, where the poor have no claim but for charity (to receive which is, happily, in the highest degree humiliating), the consideration is, whether he and she, by their *joint labour* and good management, can support and *educate* a family? Here both the physical and moral advantages are greatly in favour of Scotland.

passes in my own quarters, have not had the best of chances, when their lots fell to be born in this country. It is true they have not a great deal of household work to do; but when that little is done, they are kept to spinning,* by which some of their mistresses are chiefly maintained. Sometimes there are two or three of them in a house of no greater number of rooms, at the wages of three half-crowns a-year each, a peck of oatmeal for a week's diet; and happy she that can get the skimming of

* This is still the case; and even in harvest, when the reapers return from the field, the women are immediately set down to the linen or woollen spinning-wheel. The consequence of this salutary habit of constant industry is, that when a poor servant-girl gets a husband, she never thinks her *work done*, while there is any thing to do; spinning is a recreation to her; and hearing her little ones, as soon as they can articulate distinctly, stand by her knee and read to her, is one of her best enjoyments. The *English* maid-servant, when she marries, puts her clean cottage fireside in the neatest possible order, gets breakfast ready, then dresses herself, as long as she has the means, and is a *gentlewoman* for the remainder of the day; till she and her poor unfed, unclothed, untaught children come upon the parish; while her husband is found alternately employed in labour (that is galling and irksome to him because he has no comfort for it at home), in the pothouse, in the hospital, or work-house. It is a proverbial saying in Scotland, very creditable to the domestic industry of their housewives, that "a woman's work is never done;" which is always used, not as a complaint but encouragement.

a pot to mix with her oatmeal for better commons. To this allowance is added a pair of shoes or two, for Sundays, when they go to kirk.

These are such as are kept at board-wages. In larger families, I suppose, their standing wages is not much more, because they make no better appearance than the others. But if any one of them happens, by the encouragement of some English family, or one more reasonable than ordinary among the natives, to get clothes something better than the rest, it is ten to one but envy excites them to tell her to her face, "she must have been a *heure*, or she cou'd n'ere ha getten sic bonny *geer*."*

All these generally lie in the kitchen, a very improper place, one would think, for a lodging, especially of such who have not wherewithal to keep themselves clean.

They do several sorts of work with their feet. I have already mentioned their washing at the river. When they wash a room, which the English lodgers require to be sometimes done, they likewise do it with their feet.

First, they spread a wet cloth upon part of the floor; then, with their coats tucked up,

* What she had not been, she was certainly in a fair way of becoming, as soon as her English friends left her to shift for herself.

they stand upon the cloth and shuffle it backward and forward with their feet; then they go to another part and do the same, till they have gone all over the room. After this, they wash the cloth, spread it again, and draw it along in all places, by turns, till the whole work is finished. This last operation draws away all the remaining foul water. I have seen this likewise done at my lodgings, within a quarter of a mile of Edinburgh.*

When I first saw it, I ordered a mop to be made, and the girls to be shown the use of it; but, as it is said of the Spaniards, there was no persuading them to change their old method.

I have seen women by the river-side washing parsnips, turnips, and herbs, in tubs, with their feet. An English lieutenant-colonel told me, that about a mile from the town, he saw, at some little distance, a wench turning and twisting herself about as she stood in a little tub; and as he could perceive, being on horseback, that there was no water in it, he rode up close to her, and found she was grinding off the beards and hulls of barley with her naked feet, which barley, she said, was to make broth withal:†

* This clumsy process is still common.

† The *beards* she might grind off with her naked feet; but to attempt grinding off the *husks*, would have been like the asp gnawing the file. When the husks are to be taken off for

and, since that, upon inquiry, I have been told it is a common thing.

They hardly ever wear shoes, as I said before, but on a Sunday; and then, being unused to them, when they go to church they walk very awkwardly: or, as we say, like a cat shod with walnut-shells.

I have seen some of them come out of doors, early in a morning, with their legs covered up to the calf with dried dirt, the remains of what they contracted in the streets the day before: in short, a stranger might think there was but little occasion for strict laws against low fornication.

When they go abroad, they wear a blanket over their heads, as the poor women do, something like the pictures you may have seen of some bare-footed order among the Romish priests.

And the same blanket that serves them for a mantle by day, is made a part of their bedding at night, which is generally spread upon the floor: this, I think, they call a *shakedown*.

I make no doubt you are, long before this, fully satisfied of the truth of my prediction in the first letter; for to make you thoroughly acquainted with these remote parts, you see I

making broth, the grain is moistened, and beaten with a large wooden mallet, or pestle, in a stone mortar. This is called *knocked bear*, to distinguish it from the *pearl-barley*, which is done in the miln.

have been reduced to tittle-tattle as low as that of a gossiping woman: however, as I am *in for't*, I must now proceed.

Let those who deride the dirtiness and idleness of these poor creatures, which my countrymen are too apt to do, as I observed before; let them, I say, consider what inclination they can have to recommend themselves? What emulation can there proceed from mere despair? cleanliness is too expensive for their small wages; and what inducement can they have, in such a station, to be diligent and obliging to those who use them more like negroes than natives of Britain?* Besides, it is not any thing in nature that renders them more idle and uncleanly than others, as some would inconsiderately suggest; because many of them, when they happen to be transplanted into a richer soil, grow as good servants as any whatever; and this I have known by experience.

It is a happiness to infancy, especially here, that it cannot reflect and make comparisons of its condition; otherwise how miserable would

* The bond of union between these masters and servants was of a much more kindly nature than is here supposed; and their good-will towards each other very commonly manifested itself through life, by the most friendly offices of unostentatious and well-timed benevolence on the one side, and affectionate gratitude on the other.

be the children of the poor that one sees continually in the streets! Their wretched food makes them look pot-bellied; they are seldom washed; and many of them have their hair clipped, all but a lock that hangs down over the forehead, like the representation of old Time in a picture: the boys have nothing but a coarse kind of vest, buttoned down the back, as if they were idiots, and that their coats were so made, to prevent their often stripping themselves quite naked.

The girls have a piece of blanket wrapped about their shoulders, and are bare-headed like the boys; and both without stockings and shoes in the hardest of the seasons. But what seems to me the worst of all is, they are overrun with the itch, which continues upon them from year to year, without any care taken to free them from that loathsome distemper. Nor indeed is it possible to keep them long from it, except all could agree, it is so universal among them; and, as the children of people in better circumstances are not nice in the choice of their companions and play-fellows, they are most of them likewise infected with this disease; insomuch that, upon entering a room where there was a pretty boy or girl that I should have been pleased to have caressed and played with (besides the compliment of it to the father

and mother), it has been a great disappointment to me to discover it could not be done with safety to myself:* and though the children of the upper classes wear shoes and stockings in winter-time, yet nothing is more common than to see them bare-foot in the summer.

I have often been a witness, that when the father or mother of the lesser children has ordered their shoes and stockings to be put on, as soon as ever they had an opportunity they have pulled them off, which, I suppose, was done to set their feet at liberty.

From the sight of these children in the streets, I have heard some reflect, that many a gay equipage, in other countries, has sprung from a bonnet and bare feet; but for my own part, I think a fortune obtained by worthy actions or honest industry does real honour to the possessor; yet the generality are so far misled by customary notions, as to call the founder of an honourable family an upstart; and a very unworthy descendant is honoured with that esteem which was withheld from his ancestor. But what is yet more extraordinary is, that every suc-

* Itch is now hardly known in the Lowlands; and the use, in the Highlands, of linen, instead of woollen, for shirting, which is now become general, will soon banish it from thence also, as it banished the leprosy, some centuries ago, from all Europe.

cessor grows more honourable with time, though it be but barely on that account; as if it were an accepted principle, that a stream must needs run the clearer the further it is removed from the fountain-head. But antiquity gives a sanction to any thing.

I have little conversation with the inhabitants of this town, except some few, who are not comprehended in any thing I have said, or will be in any thing I am about to say of the generality.* The coldness between the magistrates and merchants and myself has arisen from a shyness in them towards me, and my disinclination to any kind of intimacy with them; and therefore, I think, I may freely mention the narrow way they are in, without the imputation of a spy, as some of them foolishly gave out I was in my absence when last in London.

If I had had any inclination to expose their proceedings in another place, for they were public enough here, I might have done it long ago, perhaps to my advantage; but those deceitful, boggy ways lie quite out of my road to profit or preferment.

Upon my return, I asked some of them how such a scandalous thought could ever enter into their heads, since they knew I had little con-

* It is certainly a matter of regret, that he did not speak of those whom he liked, as well as of those whom he did not like.

versation with them; and that, on the contrary, if I resided here in that infamous capacity, I should have endeavoured to insinuate myself into their confidence, and put them upon such subjects as would enable me to perform my treacherous office; but that I never so much as heard there was any concern about them; for they were so obscure, I did not remember ever to have heard of Inverness till it was my lot to know it so well as I did; and, besides, that nothing could be more public than the reason of my continuance among them. This produced a denial of the fact from some, and in others a mortification, whether real or feigned is not much my concern.

I shall here take notice, that there is hardly any circumstance or description I have given you, but what is known to some one officer or more of every regiment in Britain, as they have been quartered here by rotation. And, if there were occasion, I might appeal to them for a justification (the interested excepted) that I have exaggerated nothing; and I promise you I shall pursue the same route throughout all my progress.

I wish I could say more to the integrity of our own lower order of shopkeepers, than truth and justice will allow me to do; but these, I

think, are *sharper* (to use no worse an expression) in proportion as their temptations are stronger.

Having occasion for some Holland cloth, I sent to one of these merchants, who brought me two or three pieces, which I just looked upon, and told him that as I neither understood the quality, nor knew the price of that sort of goods, I would make him, as we say, both seller and buyer, reserving to himself the same profit as he would take from others. At first he started at the proposal; and having recollected himself, he said, "I cannot deal in that manner;" I asked him why? but I could get nothing more from him, but that it was not their way of dealing.

Upon this, I told him it was apparently his design to have over-reached me, but that he had some probity left, which he did not seem to know of, by refusing my offer; because it carried with it a trust and confidence in his honesty: and thereupon we parted.*

Since that, I made the same proposal to a mercer in Edinburgh, and was fairly and honestly dealt with.

But the instances some of these people give

* This is the most unlucky passage in this book. The mercer, whose conduct is very characteristic and spirited, had too much discernment to put his feelings and reputation in such hands, and too much good breeding to assign his reasons.

of their distrust one of another, in matters of a most trifling value, would fill any stranger with notions very disadvantageous to the credit of the generality.

I sent one day to a merchant's hard by for some little thing I wanted; which being brought me by my servant, he laughed and told me, that while he was in the shop, there came in the maid-servant of another merchant with a message from her master, which was to borrow an ell to measure a piece of cloth, and to signify that he had sent a napkin, that is, a handkerchief, as a pledge for its being returned; that the maid took the ell, and was going away with it, without leaving the security; upon which the merchant's wife called out hastily and earnestly to her for the pawn; and then the wench pulled it out of her bosom and gave it to her, not without some seeming shame for her attempt to go away with it.

Speaking of an ell measure, brings to my mind a thing that passed a few weeks ago when I was present.

An English gentleman sent for a wright, or carpenter, to make him an ell; but before the workman came, he had borrowed one, and offered it as a pattern. "No, sir," says the man, "it must not be made by this; for your's, I sup-

pose, is to be for buying, and this is to sell by."*

I have not myself entirely escaped suspicions of my honesty; for sending one day to a shop for some two-penny business, a groat was demanded for it; the two-pence was taken, the thing was sent, but my boy's cap was detained for the remaining half of that considerable sum.

It is a common observation with the English, that when several of these people are in competition for some profitable business or bargain,

* The wholesale dealer used the *long*, or Flemish, ell of five quarters, and the retail dealer the English ell of four quarters. If the nominal price was the same, the retailer's profit arose from the difference of measure. This was understood by every one, and had no connection with dishonesty.—In numeration, also, they had the *long score*, of 25, and the *long hundred*, of 125, by which herrings, haddock, &c. are still sold in some places. This manner of calculating came to us with our Scandinavian forefathers, by whom it was adopted before the use of letters. They counted by the *fingers* of the left hand; for every five, one was put apart as a marker; when the markers amounted to five, they were put with the others, and made 25; and when the *long scores* amounted to five, they were put together, and made a *long hundred*, or 125.—Without the markers, they made the *short score*, &c. This kind of enumeration is still in use among sailors, who now use a tally instead of the fingers. In the Gaëlic, Latin, &c. the term which signifies 5, originally meant *to the gap* (*i. e.* between the forefinger and the thumb), 10, *two gaps*, &c. The Roman emblem of this *gap* was V, and of *two gaps*, X, or two V's put together.

each of them speaks to the disadvantage of his competitors.*

Some time ago, there was occasion to hire ovens wherewith to bake bread for the soldiery then encamped near the town. The officer who had the care of providing those ovens, thought fit, as the first step towards his agreements, to talk with several of the candidates separately, at their own houses, and to see what conveniency they had wherewith to perform a contract of that nature. In the course of this inquiry, he found that every one of them was speaking not much to the advantage of the rest, and, in the conclusion, he cried out, "Every one of these men tells me the others are rogues: and," added with an oath, "I believe them all."

But, on the other hand, if we ask of almost any one of them, who is quite disinterested, the character of some working tradesmen, though the latter be not at all beholden to fame, the answer to our inquiry will be—"There is not an honester lad in all Britain."

This is done in order to secure the profit to their own countrymen; for the soldiers rival them in many things, especially in handicraft trades. I take this last to be upon the principle (for certainly it is one with them) that every

* Would to God one knew the country where this is not the case!

gain they make of the English is an acquisition to their country.

But I desire I may not be understood to speak of all in general, for there are several among them, whom I believe, in spite of education, to be very worthy, honest men;—I say against education, because I have often observed, by children of seven or eight years old, that when they have been asked a question, they have either given an indirect answer at first, or considered for a time what answer was fittest for them to make. And this was not my observation alone, but that of several others, upon trial, which made us conclude that such precaution, at such an age, could not be other than the effect of precept.*

P. S. I have several times been told, by gentlemen of this country with whom I have contracted acquaintance and friendship, that others have said it would have been but just that some native had had my appointment; and once it was hinted to me directly. This induced me to say (for I could not help it), I should readily agree to it, and cheerfully resign; and would

* This could seldom be the effect of *precept;* but there is too much reason to fear that it was the effect of *example.—Andrew Fairservice* has many relations among us; but that character, drawn with such provoking fidelity by a Scotsman, shews that the family is now fallen into disrepute.

further take upon me to answer for all my countrymen that they should do the same, provided no Scotsmen had any government employment be-south the Tweed; and then I doubted not but there would be ample room at home for us all. This I should not have chosen to say, but it was *begged*, and I *gave it*.

LETTER VI.

As I am inclined to give you a taste of every thing this country affords, I shall now step out of my way for a little while, to acquaint you, that the other day, in the evening, I made a visit to a laird's lady, who is much esteemed for her wit, and really not without some reason.

After a good deal of tea-table chat, she brought upon the carpet the subject of her own sex; and thence her ladyship proceeded to some comparisons between the conduct of the English and Scots women.

She began, in a sort of jeering manner, to tell me our females are great enemies to dust; which led me to answer,—It was no wonder, for it spoiled their furniture, and dirtied their clothes.

In the next place she entertained me with a parallel between the amours of the English and and Scots women. The English, she said, often take liberties after they are married, and seldom before; whereas the Scots women, when they make a trip, it is while they are single, and very rarely afterwards: and, indeed, this last is not

often known, except among those who think themselves above reputation and scandal.

Now as she had condescended to own that the Scotish females are frail as well as ours, though in different circumstances of life, which was, indeed, an acknowledgment beyond what I expected, I could not, for that reason, persuade myself to mention another difference, which is, that the English women are not so well watched.

There were many other things said upon this subject which I shall not trouble you with; but I must tell you, that this conversation reminds me of a passage which, perhaps, might otherwise never have recurred to my memory, or, at most, would have been little regarded.

One day, when I was in Edinburgh, I walked out with three married women, whose husbands, some time after dinner, retired to their respective avocations or diversions, and left them to my conduct. As we approached the fields, we happened to meet a woman with cherries: this gave me an opportunity to treat the ladies with some of that fruit; and as we were walking along, says one of them to me,—"Mr. ——, there is a good deal of difference between a married woman in Scotland and one in England. Here are now three of us, and I believe I may venture to say, we could not, all of us together, purchase one single pound of cherries." You may be sure

I thought their credit very low at that time, and I endeavoured to turn it off as an accident; but she told me that such kind of vacuities were pretty general among the married in Scotland; and, upon her appeal to the other two, it was confirmed.*

I have often heard it said by the English, that the men are not our friends, but I think the females have no aversion to us; not that I fancy our persons are better made, or that we are more engaging in any respect than their own countrymen, but from the notion that prevails among them (at least such as I have been acquainted), viz. that the English are the kindest husbands in the world. Perhaps it may be said, I was their dupe, and did not discover the sneer at what they may think a too precarious confidence, of which their sex is, without doubt, the most competent judge.

But I have heard some of these ladies first accuse the English women, and then treat the chimera with such excessive virulence, that I have been tempted to suspect it proceeded from jealousy, not unattended by envy, at that liberty which may give opportunities for such

* The house-keeping and marketing being entirely in the hands of the ladies, it is not easy to conceive how they could have so little command of money. Even if their husbands audited their accounts, they must have been wonderfully honest, and unacquainted with women's wiles!

unfaithfulness; for otherwise I think it might have been sufficient, even if the fact were true, barely to show their dislike of such a perfidious conduct. And, besides, I cannot say it has not happened in the world, that the most severe censure has been changed to a more charitable opinion from experience of human weakness, or that such virulence was never used as a means to excite a conquest. To conclude these remarks: I think it was not over complaisant in a stranger, to bring such a general accusation against his countrywomen; and if I had done as much by them it might have been deemed a national reflection. But to me it would be a new kind of knight-errantry, to fight with the gentlewomen in defence of the ladies; and therefore I contented myself with turning (in as genteel a manner as I could) their accusation and parade of virtue into ridicule.

But to return to my general purpose.

The working tradesmen, for the most part, are indolent, and no wonder, since they have so little incitement to industry, or profitable employment to encourage them to it.

If a bolt for a door be wanted, the dweller often supplies it with one of wood; and so of many other things, insomuch that the poor smith is sometimes hardly enabled to maintain himself in oatmeal.

The neatness of a carpenter's work is little regarded. If it will just answer the occasion, and come very cheap, it is enough. I shall not trouble you with further instances. But to show you what they might be, if they had encouragement, I shall mention a passage that related to myself. I sent one day for a *wright* (they have no such distinction as *joiner*) to make me an engine to chop straw withal for my horses; and told him it must be neatly made, and I would pay him accordingly; otherwise when it was done it would be his own. The young man, instead of being discouraged by the danger of losing his time and materials, was overjoyed at the conditions, and told me, at the same time, that he should be quite undone if he was long about work which he did for his countrymen, for in that case they would not pay him for his time. In fine, he made me the machine, which was more like the work of one of your cabinet-makers in London than that of an Inverness carpenter; and he brought it home in as little time as I could reasonably expect.

Here I may observe, that when a young fellow finds he has a genius for his trade or business, and has any thing of spirit, he generally lays hold of the first occasion to remove to England,*

* The passion for emigration, which, in England, has long since been proverbial, gave rise to the humorous remark of Dr.

or some other country, where he hopes for better encouragement. Hence, I take it, arose a kind of proverb, That there never came a fool out of Scotland. Some, perhaps, would be giving this a different interpretation; but what I mean is, that the cleverest and most sprightly among them leave the narrow way of their own country; and from this may come, for aught I know, another saying, That they seldom desire to return home.

This very man of whom I have been speaking took occasion to tell me, that in two or three months he should go to seek employment in London.

Johnson, who, being in company with Dr. Goldsmith and some others, together with the Rev. Mr. Ogilvie, a Scotch gentleman, the latter very unhappily fell on the topic of praising his country and its noble prospects:—"Yes, Sir," said Johnson, "you have many noble wild prospects; Norway too has noble wild prospects, and so has Lapland, but I believe the best prospect a Scotchman ever sees is the high-road to England." This, as might be expected, produced in the company a roar of applause.—*Boswell's Johnson*, vol. i. 405.

This was a standing jest of Johnson's, but *he did not sport it on the occasion specified.* It was, however, *literally* true: the badness of the roads in Scotland at that time was one of the greatest disadvantages the country laboured under; *the high-road to England* was almost the only one deserving of the name, and consequently was a delightful prospect of an improvement in that way, which has since been carried on to a very comfortable extent.

The fishermen would not be mentioned, but for their remarkable laziness; for they might find a sale for much more sea-fish than they do, but so long as any money remains of the last marketing, and until they are driven out by the last necessity, they will not meddle with salt water.

At low ebb, when their boats lie off at a considerable distance from the shore, for want of depth of water, the women tuck up their garments to an indecent height, and wade to the vessels, where they receive their loads* of fish for the market; and when the whole cargo is brought to land they take the fishermen upon their backs, and bring them on shore in the same manner.

* Most of the labour on shore is performed by the women: they will carry as much fish as two men can lift on their shoulders; and, when they have sold their cargo and emptied their basket, will replace part of it with stones. They go sixteen miles to sell or barter their fish, are very fond of finery, and will load their fingers with trumpery rings, when they want both shoes and stockings.—*Pennant's Scotland*, vol. i. 147.

The inhabitants of several of the fishing towns on the east coast of Scotland are descended from Hollanders or Danes, as at Buckhaven, and still retain, particularly the women, something of the features, dialect, dress, ornaments, and obsolete usages, peculiar to their original countries. An admirable delineation of the character and habits of Scotish fishers will be found in "The Antiquary." Perhaps this description of people in Scotland, being less ignorant, are more orderly than in any other country.

There is here none of that emulation among the ordinary people, nor any of that pride which the meanest cottagers in England generally take in the cleanliness and little ornaments of their hovels; yet, at the same time, these poor wretches entertain a kind of pride which is, I think, peculiar to themselves.

The officers of a certain regiment kept here a pack of beagles; and suspecting some of them to be in danger of the mange, they sent to the boatmen to take them out a little way to sea, and throw them over-board, imagining their swimming in salt water would cure them of the distemper, if they were infected. The servant offered them good hire for their trouble; but they gave him bad language, and told him they would not do it. Upon this, some of the officers went themselves, and, in hopes to prevail, offered them a double reward; but they said they would not, for any money, do a thing so scandalous as to *freight their boats with dogs*; and absolutely refused it.

The poorest creature that loses a horse by death, would sell him for three-pence to a soldier, who made it a part of his business to buy them; and he made not only sixpence of the carcase to feed the hounds, but got two shillings or half-a-crown for the hide. But the owner would not flay the horse, though he knew very

well how to do it, as almost every one here, and in the Highlands, is something of a tanner; and their reason is, that it is an employment only *fit for the hangman.* Upon this principle, the soldier was frequently pursued in the streets by the children, and called by that opprobrious name.*

Very often, if you ask questions of the ordinary people here and hereabouts, they will answer you by *Haniel Sasson uggit,*† *i. e.* they have, or speak, no *Saxon* (or English). This they do to save the trouble of giving other answers: but they have been frequently brought, by the officers, to speak that language by the same method that Moliere's faggot-binder was forced to confess himself a doctor of physic.

The lodgings of the ordinary people are indeed most miserable ones; and even those of some who make a tolerable appearance in the streets are not much better.

Going along with some company toward one of the out-parts of the town, I was shown the

* This prejudice is not peculiar to Scotland, being found all over Germany and the North of Europe, where a *schinderknecht*, or carrion-flayer's servant, is considered as a much more degraded being than a common hangman. Any other person known to have touched carrion, would be held in abhorrence.

† If these words mean any thing, they mean, "*You* have no Saxon!" which they were not likely to say to an Englishman.

apartment of a young woman, who looks pretty smart when abroad, and affects to adorn her face with a good many patches, but is of no ill fame.

The door of the house, or rather hut, being open, and nobody within, I was prevailed with to enter and observe so great a curiosity. Her bed was in one corner of the room upon the ground, made up with straw,* and even that in small quantity, and upon it lay a couple of blankets, which were her covering and that of two children that lay with her. In the opposite corner was just such another bed for two young fellows, who lay in the same room.

At another time I happened to be of a party who had agreed to go five or six and twenty miles into the Highlands, a small part by land and the rest by water; but a person who was not agreeable to any of us, having, as we say, pinned himself upon us, and being gone home, it was resolved that, to avoid him, we should

* "In their houses they lye upon the ground, laying betwixt them and it *brakens*, or hadder, the rootes thereof downe and the tops up, so prettily layed together, that they are as soft as feather-beds, and much more wholesome; for the tops themselves are drye of nature, whereby it dryes the weake humours and restores againe the strength of the sinews troubled before, and that so evidently, that they who at evening go to rest sore and weary, rise in the morning whole and able."—*Lord Somer's Tracts*, vol. iii. 388.

set out at ten o'clock the same night, instead of the next morning, as was at first intended. About twelve we arrived at the end of Loch Ness, where we were to wait for news from the vessel. We were soon conducted to a house where lives a brother to the Pretender's famous brigadier; and upon entering a large room, by the candle, we discovered, on different parts of the floor, nine persons, including children, all laid in the manner above described; and, among the rest, a young woman, as near as I could guess about seventeen or eighteen, who, being surprised at the light and the bustle we made, between sleeping and waking, threw off part of the blankets, and started up, stared at us earnestly, and, being stark naked, scratched herself in several parts till thoroughly wakened.

After all this, I think I need not say any thing about the lodgings of the meanest sort of people.

I shall not go about to deny, because I would not willingly be laughed at, that the English luxury is in every thing carried to an exorbitant height; but if there were here a little of that vice, it would be well for the lower order of people, who, by that means, would likewise mend their *commons* in proportion to it.

By accounts of the plenty and variety of food at the tables of the luxurious in England, the people, who have not eaten with the English,

conclude they are likewise devourers of great quantities of victuals at a meal, and at other times talk of little else besides eating. This is their notion of us, but particularly of our gormandizing. I shall give you one instance:

Some years ago I obtained the favour and great conveniency to board, for a time, with an English gentleman in a house near Edinburgh, of which the proprietor retained the uppermost floor to himself and family.

It seems, by what follows, that this gentleman had amused himself sometimes by observing what passed among us; and being one day invited to our table, after dinner he told us very frankly, that he had been watching us all the time we were eating, because he had thought we must necessarily have large stomachs to consume the quantity of victuals brought so often from the market; but that now he concluded we were as moderate as any.

Thus the wonder had been reciprocal; for while he was surprised at our plenty (not knowing how much was given away),* we were at a

* The habits commonly acquired by the labouring classes before they commence house-keeping, from the indiscreet liberality of the English in feeding their servants, are one great cause of the most intolerable evils with which that country is afflicted;—the improvidence, discontent, rancorous impatience, and triumphant insolence of privileged pauperism.

loss to think how he and his family could subsist upon their slender provision.

For my own part, I never dined in a mixed company of Scots and English, but I found the former not only eat as much as the others, but seemed as well pleased with the delicacy and diversity of the dishes; but I shall make no inference from thence.

It is from this notion of the people that my countrymen, not only here, but all over Scotland, are dignified with the title of *poke pudding*, which, according to the sense of the word among the natives, signifies a glutton.

Yet this reproach should not deter me from giving you an account of our way of living in this country, that is, of our *eating*, supposing every one that charges us with that swinish vice were to read this letter.

Our principal diet, then, consists of such things as you in London esteem to be the greatest rarities, viz. salmon and trout just taken out of the river, and both very good in their kind: partridge, grouse, hare, duck, and mallard, woodcocks, snipes, &c. each in its proper season. And yet for the greatest part of the year, like the Israelites who longed for the garlic and onions of Egypt,* we are hankering after beef, mutton, veal, lamb, &c.

* Here his learning misleads him; the Israelites knew what

It is not only me, but every one that comes hither, is soon disgusted with these kinds of food, when obliged to eat them often for want of other fare, which is not seldom our case.

There is hardly any such thing as mutton to be had till August, or beef till September,—that is to say, in quality fit to be eaten; and both go out about Christmas. And, therefore, at or about Martinmas (the 11th of November), such of the inhabitants who are any thing beforehand with the world, salt up a quantity of beef, as if they were going a voyage. And this is common in all parts of Scotland where I have been.*

It would be tedious to set down the price of every species of provision. I shall only say, that mutton and beef are about a penny a pound; salmon, which was at the same price, is, by a

was what as well as the English; it was the FLESH-POTS of Egypt that they longed for *in the wilderness*. Exod. xvi. 3.

* In Scotland formerly, as in England, (while the agriculture of that country was in an imperfect state), the stock of butcher's meat for six or seven months was killed and salted about Martinmas, *because there was no due store of provender laid up for the winter*. In the Highlands, where every family must kill its own meat, this is still, to a certain extent, the case; but the abundance found in every gentleman's house of game, poultry, eggs, pastry, and preparations of milk and conserves, make the market for fresh butcher's meat the less missed.

late regulation of the magistrates, raised to two-pence a pound, which is thought by many to be an exorbitant price. A fowl, which they, in general, call a hen, may be had at market for two-pence or two-pence-halfpenny, but so lean they are good for little. It would be too ludicrous to say that one of them might almost be cut up with the breast of another, but they are so poor, that some used to say they believed the oats were given them out by tale.

This brings to my remembrance a story I have heard of a foreigner, who being newly arrived in this country, at a public house desired something to eat. A fowl was proposed, and accepted; but when it was dressed and brought to table, the stranger showed a great dislike to it, which the landlord perceiving, brought him a piece of fresh salmon, and said,—"Sir, I observe you do not like the fowl; pray what do you think of this?"—"Think," says the guest, "why I think it is very fine salmon, and no wonder, for that is of God Almighty's feeding; if it had been fed by you, I suppose it would have been as lean as this poor fowl, which I desire you will take away."*

* At an entertainment given to James the Sixth, in his progress to London, it was proposed to his Majesty to eat some goose in the *Cheshire fashion*, with boiled *groats* (shelled oats);

We have, in plenty, variety, and good perfection, roots and greens, which you know have always made a principal part of my luxury.

This, I think, has been chiefly owing to a communication with the English: and I have been told by old people in Edinburgh, that no longer ago than forty years, there was little else but cale in their green-market, which is now plentifully furnished with that sort of provision; and I think altogether as good as in London.

Pork is not very common with us, but what we have is good.

I have often heard it said that the Scots will not eat it. This may be ranked among the rest of the prejudices; for this kind of food is common in the Lowlands, and Aberdeen, in particular, is famous for furnishing families with pickled pork for winter provision, as well as their shipping.*

I own I never saw any swine among the mountains, and there is good reason for it: those people have no offal wherewith to feed

and being asked how he liked it, he said, he should have liked it much better, if they had given the oats to the poor starved animal before they killed it. Whoever eats *Cheshire goose* is sur to hear this anecdote.

* They had public breweries in Aberdeen, or at least in G comstown, one of its suburbs, but, till within these few ye there was no such thing any where north of that place.

them; and were they to give them other food, one single sow would devour all the provisions of a family.

It is here a general notion, that where the chief declares against pork, his followers affect to show the same dislike; but of this affectation I happened once to see an example.

One of the chiefs, who brought hither with him a gentleman of his own clan, dined with several of us at a public-house, where the chief refused the pork, and the laird did the same; but some days afterward, the latter being invited to our mess, and under no restraint, he ate it with as good an appetite as any of us all.*

* The aversion of many of the Scots, both in the Highlands and Lowlands, to eating pork, had nothing superstitious connected with it. *They could not eat fat* of any kind, not being accustomed to it; for when they had well-fed meat, it was always so over-boiled or over-roasted, that the fat either disappeared altogether, or was rendered too disgusting to be eaten. Yet the same rustics, who had no objection to *fat broth*, *fat brose*, and *haggises* so *fat* as to put even an Englishman to a stand, would have turned with horror from a *suet* dumpling.—So much for the natural prejudice arising from habit!

In some parts of the Highlands, at present (the Braes of Rannoch, for example), pigs may be seen in great numbers, scattered upon the mountains like sheep. They are small, and lank as greyhounds; but when put up in the sty, take on flesh very fast, and become excellent eating.

Although pigs are now more numerous in Scotland than they once were, and fare as well as their masters once did, they always

The little Highland mutton, when fat, is delicious, and certainly the greatest of luxuries. And the small beef, when fresh, is very sweet and succulent, but it wants that substance which should preserve it long when salted. I am speaking of these two sorts of provision when they are well fed; but the general run of the market here, and in other places too, is such as would not be suffered in any part of England that I know of.

We (the English) have the conveniency of a public-house (or tavern, if you please), kept by a countrywoman of our's, where every thing is

made a part of the live stock, as far back as any notices of the state of the country remain. What this proportion was in some parts even of the Highlands, nearly three centuries and a half ago, may be collected from the following authentic record in the "*Acta Dominorum Concilii*, p. 273." In 1492, the lords of council decree and deliver, That Huchone of Ross of Kilrawok and his son shall restore, content, and pay, to Mr. Alexander Urquhart, sheriff of Cromarty, and his tenants, the following *items*, carried off by them and their accomplices:

600 cows, price of each	13	4
5 score horses, each	26	8
50 score sheep, each.....	2	0
20 score goats, each.....	2	0
200 swine, each.....	3	0
20 score bolls of victual, each boll	6	8

The above appraisements are in Scotish money; but the price of the grain has been set down as a standard for judging of the value of the other articles.—As the marauders seem to have swept all

dressed our own way; but sometimes it has been difficult for our landlady to get any thing for us to eat, except some sort of food so often reiterated as almost to create a loathing. And one day I remember she told us there was nothing at all to be had in the town. This you may believe was a melancholy declaration to a parcel of *poke puddings;* but, for some relief, a Highlander soon after happened to bring to town some of the moor-game to sell, which (in looking out sharp) she secured for our dinner.

Hares and the several kinds of birds abovementioned, abound in the neighbouring country

before them in this incursion, even to the household furniture, (which we could wish had been specified also), this is an interesting picture of the state of the country, and the proportion and comparative value of the different kinds of stock in Rosshire at that period.

As to the complaisance of a clansman to his chief, there were, no doubt, sycophants at Castle Brahan and Dunvegan, as well as at St. James's; but the instance here adduced proves something very different. What it is disgusting to eat, it is disgusting to see others eat; and the forbearance of the clansman only showed his good breeding. Had the gentlemen of the mess properly understood the rites of hospitality, *they* wou'd have shown *their* good breeding by immediately ordering the offensive article to be removed, in compliment to the feelings of their guests. Their producing a second time a dish which they believed to be disagreeable to a gentleman whom they had invited, showed how little respect they thought due to the feelings of those among whom they resided.

near the town, even to exuberance; rather too much, I think, for the sportsman's diversion, who generally likes a little more expectation; so that we never need to want that sort of provision of what we may kill ourselves; and, besides, we often make presents of them to such of the inhabitants who are in our esteem; for none of them, that I know of, will bestow powder and shot upon any of the game.

It is true, they may sometimes buy a partridge for a penny, or less, and the others in proportion;—I say sometimes, for there are not very many brought to market, except in time of snow, and then indeed I have seen sacks-full of them.

I remember that the first hard weather after I came, I asked the magistrates why such poaching was suffered within their district; and their answer was, that there was enough of them, and if they were not brought to market, they should get none themselves.

The river is not less plentiful in fish. I have often seen above a hundred large salmon brought to shore at one haul. Trout is as plenty, and a small fish the people call a little trout, but of another species, which is exceedingly good, called in the north of England a *branlin*. These are so like the salmon-fry, that they are hardly to be dis-

tinguished; only the scales come off of the fry in handling, the others have none.

It is, by law, no less than transportation to take the salmon-fry; but, in the season, the river is so full of them that nobody minds it, and those young fish are so simple the children catch them with a crooked pin. Yet the townsmen are of opinion that all such of them as are bred in the river, and are not devoured at sea by larger fish, return thither at the proper season; and, as a proof, they affirm they have taken many of them, and, by way of experiment, clipped their tails into a forked figure, like that of a swallow, and found them with that mark when full grown and taken out of the *cruives*.

Eels there are, and very good, but the inhabitants will not eat of them any more than they will of a pike,* for which reason some of these last, in the standing lakes, are grown to a monstrous size; and, I do assure you, I have eaten of trouts taken in those waters each of fifteen or sixteen pounds weight.

* Eels are *snakes* (in Cheshire and Lancashire they are called *snigs*); they delight in mud—the filthier the fatter—and are, at best, heavy and unwholesome food. The *ramper-eel*, lamprey, or nine eyes, is held in abhorrence. Many of the vulgar in Scotland believe that lampreys will fix upon people's flesh in the water, suck their blood, and let it out at the holes in their neck! The pike is eaten, but has not much to recommend it, independant of the cook. Its size is not owing to its age. In the north

I am surprised the townsmen take no delight in field-exercises or fishing, in both of which there is health and diversion, but will rather choose to spend great part of their time in the wretched coffee-room, playing at backgammon, or hazard, mostly for halfpence.

But I must ingenuously confess to you that they might retaliate this accusation, so far as it relates to mis-spending of time, if they had but the opportunity to let you know they have seen me throwing haddocks' and whitings' heads into the river from the parapet of the bridge, only to see the eels turn up their silver bellies in striving one with another for the prey. At other times they might tell you they saw me letting feathers fly in the wind, for the swallows that build under the arches (which are ribbed within side), to make their circuits in the air, and contend for them to carry them to their nests. I have been jestingly reproached by them, *en passant,* for both these amusements, as being too juvenile for me. This I have returned in their own way,

of Europe, where it meets with as little quarter as it gives, it is sometimes found of forty-five pounds weight, and upwards. The undistinguishing verocity of this fresh-water shark, makes it, in some degree, an object of dislike. The present writer being once a-fishing for pike in the loch of Spynie, where now there are corn-fields, another boy hooked a small pike, which was instantly seized on by a monstrous large one, that allowed himself to be dragged to land rather than quit his hold.

by telling them I thought myself at least as well employed as they, when tumbling over and over a little cube made out of a bone, and making every black spot on the faces of it a subject of their fear and hope. Nor did I think the Emperor Domitian's ordinary diversion was any thing more manly than mine; but I think myself, this instant, much better employed by endeavouring to contribute to your amusement.

The meanest servants, who are not at board-wages, will not make a meal upon salmon if they can get any thing else to eat. I have been told it here, as a very good jest, that a Highland gentleman, who went to London by sea, soon after his landing passed by a tavern where the larder appeared to the street, and operated so strongly upon his appetite that he went in—that there were among other things a rump of beef and some salmon: of the beef he ordered a steak for himself, "but," says he, "let Duncan have some salmon." To be short, the cook who attended him humoured the jest, and the master's eating was eight pence, and Duncan's came to almost as many shillings.*

* Two gentlemen just arrived at a London hotel from Russia, having heard much of the *expence* of living in England, when the bill of fare for supper was presented, determined to be very economical, and sup upon *stewed lampreys*, which, in their country, might be had at a farthing a dozen. Next morning, to their

I was speaking of provisions in this town according to the ordinary markets, but their prices are not always such to us. There are two or three people, not far from the town, who, having an eye to our mess, employ themselves now and then in fattening fowls, and sometimes a turkey, a lamb, &c. these come very near, if not quite, as dear as they are in London.

I shall conclude this letter with an incident which I confess is quite foreign to my present purpose, but may contribute to my main design.

Since my last, as I was passing along the street, I saw a woman sitting with a young child lying upon her lap, over which she was crying and lamenting, as in the utmost despair concerning it. At first I thought it was want, but found she was come from Fort William, and that the ministers here had refused to christen her child, because she did not know who was the father of it; then she renewed her grief, and, hanging down her head over the infant,

utter astonishment and dismay, they had to pay more shillings for their entertainment than they expected to pay pence, even in an English inn. A good-humoured explanation with the waiter set all to rights; but had these gentlemen been too angry for reasoning, and immediately returned to Russia, what an impression must they have carried with them of the exorbitant charges of inn-keepers in this country?

she talked to it, as if it must certainly be damned if it should die without baptism. To be short, several of us together prevailed to have the child christened, not that we thought the infant in danger, but to relieve the mother from her dreadful apprehensions.

I take this refusal to be partly political, and used as a means whereby to find out the male transgressor; but that knowledge would have been to little purpose in this case, it being a *regimental child:* and, indeed, this was our principal argument, for any dispute against the established rules of the kirk would be deemed impertinence, if not profaneness.*

* This is a very affecting incident, and highly honourable to all the parties concerned, not even excepting the poor dissolute vagrant; had a similar case occurred in an English parish, where a record of baptism procures a *settlement*, the gentlemen would not have found the clergyman and churchwardens so complaisant.

LETTER VII.

The inhabitants complain loudly that the English, since the Union, have enhanced the rates of every thing by giving extravagant prices;* and I must own, in particular, there has been seven-pence or eight-pence a pound given by some of them for beef or mutton that has been well-fed and brought to them early in the season. But the towns-people are not so nice in the quality of these things; and to some the meat is good enough if it will but serve for soup.

As to their complaint, I would know what injury it is to the country in general, that strangers especially are lavish in their expences; does it not cause a greater circulation of money among them, and that too brought from distant places, to which but a very small part of it ever returns?

But it is in vain to tell these people that the

* They found claret in Inverness at sixpence a quart, and in a short time it rose to two shillings;—had their residence there quadrupled the riches of the country gentlemen who drank only claret in that time?

extraordinary cheapness of provisions is a certain token of the poverty of a country; for that would insinuate they are gainers by the Union,* which they cannot bear to hear of.

As an instance of the low price of provisions formerly, I have been told by some old people that, at the time of the Revolution, General Mackay was accustomed to dine at one of these public-houses, where he was served with great variety, and paid only two shillings and six-pence Scots,—that is, two-pence-halfpenny for his ordinary.†

* At that time much bad blood had been produced by the *Union*, and no advantage had as yet resulted from it to allay the ferment. A grave people, put under martial law by a foreign power, could not be expected to be much at their ease, or very accommodating to the soldiers and agents stationed among them.

† *Ordinary*, indeed, his fare must have been!—That a commander in chief should have dined sumptuously for less than the seventh part of the daily pay of one of his serjeants, is very improbable. Had he lived upon *oats*, his country food, he must not only have dined *like a horse*, but *with his horse;* for they could not have been shelled, boiled, and served up on a clean table-cloth, for *two-pence-halfpenny*. Considering the low price of provisions, however, the pay of Mackay's soldiers was certainly too great, either for good order or efficient service. The country was then in a state of ruin and beggary, and full of able-bodied men who could find neither work nor wages; yet such was their distrust and dislike to King William, and their aversion to his service, that even with the temptation of such extravagant pay, he had great difficulty in raising men, and

When I was speaking of game and wild-fowl in my last letter, it did not occur to me to have often heard in this country of an old Scotish act of parliament for encouragement to destroy the green plover, or pewit, which, as said, is therein called the *ungrateful* bird; for that it came to Scotland to breed, and then re-

little confidence in those who were raised. The following statement is taken from the original in the Register-house of Edinburgh, and is dated 1693:

Accompt of the pay of a Regiment of Foot consisting of 13 companies, conforme to the establishment with the officers for ane moneth's space, accompting 28 dayes to the moneth, is as followes, viz.—

	Sterling Money. £.	s.
Imprimis. To the Viscount of Kenmure as Collonell, 12*s.* ster. *per diem, inde per mensem*	16	16
Item. To the Lieut. Collonell as such, 7*s. per diem, inde*	9	16
It. To the Major as such, 5*s. per diem, inde*.....	7	00
It. To the Aid Major as such, 4*s. per diem, inde* ..	5	12
It. To the Chirurgeon and Mate, 5*s. per diem, inde* ..	7	00
It. To the Quarter M^r^ as such, 4*s. per diem, inde*	5	12
It. 13 Captaines, each at 8*s. per diem, inde*.....	154	12
It. 13 Leivetennents, each at 4*s. per diem, inde*	72	16
It. 13 Ensignes, each at 3*s. per diem, inde*	54	12
It. 39 Corporalls, each at 1*s. per diem, is*.....	54	12
It. 26 Serjants, each at 1*s.* 6*d. per diem, is*	54	12
It. 13 Drums, each at 1*s. per diem, is*	18	4
It. 780 Souldiers, each at 6*d. per diem*, ther being 60 to each companie; *inde, per mensem*.....	546	00
Summa is£.	998	04

turned to England with its young to feed the enemy; but I never could obtain any satisfaction in this point, although a certain baronet, in the shire of Ross, who is an advocate, or counsellor-at-law, mentioned it to me at his own house in that county as a thing certain; and he seemed then to think he could produce the act of parliament, or at least the title of it in one of his catalogues; but he sought a long while to no purpose, which, as well as my own reason, made me conclude there was nothing in it; though, at the same time, it was matter of wonder to me that the knight should seem so positive he could produce evidence of a fact, and earnestly seek it, which, if found, would have been an undeniable ridicule upon the legislature of his own country.

What kind of food this bird is I do not know, for, although I have shot many of them here, I never made any other use of them than to pluck off the crown or crest to busk my flies for fishing, and gave the bird to the next poor Highlander I met withal; but perhaps you may have partaken of this advantage, which was so much envied by the Scots according to the tradition.*

* The lapwing is a beautiful, lively, active bird, and, being a harbinger of spring, is always welcome to Scotland; the flesh, in October, is said to be excellent eating, and the eggs, which are

I would, but cannot, forbear to give you, *en passant*, a specimen of this Highland baronet's hospitality at the time above-mentioned.

He had known me both at Inverness and Edinburgh, and I, being out with an English officer sporting near his house, proposed to make him a visit.

After the meeting-compliments were over, he called for a bottle of wine; and, when the glass had once gone about, "Gentlemen," says he, pretty abruptly, "this wine is not so good as you drink at Inverness." We assured him it was, and repeated it several times; but he still insisted it was not, took it away himself, and set a bottle of ale before us in its stead, which we just tasted out of pure civility: but we were no losers by this, for the benefit of refreshment by his wine after fatigue would have been the least of trifles, compared with the diversion we had

large for its size, are reckoned a great delicacy even in London. The popular saying respecting it is, that "it brings its egg to Scotland and carries its dung to Ireland," to the bogs of which country it is supposed to withdraw for the benefit of a milder winter; and there it may perhaps be called *the ungrateful bird*. As it remains with us only during the breeding season it is never shot at; and killing such a beautiful bird at that season purely for exercise, or for the sake of two or three green feathers, was no a much more elegant amusement than the fly-hunting of Domitian above-alluded to.

in going home, at this—what shall I call it?—this barefaced——I don't know what!*

From the provisions of this country it would be an easy natural transition to the cookery, but it might be disagreeable; and it would be almost endless to tell you what I know and have heard upon that subject. I do not mean as to the composition of the dishes, but the uncleanliness by which they are prepared. But how should you think it otherwise, when you recollect what has been said of the poor condition of the female servants? and what would you think to have your dinner dressed by one of them? I do assure you that, being upon a journey in these parts, hard eggs have been my only food for several days successively.

Shall I venture at one only instance of cookery? I will, and that a recent one, and therefore comes first to hand; but it does not come up to many others that I know, and are not fit to be told to any one that has not an immoveable stomach.

An officer, who arrived here a few days ago with his wife and son, a boy of about five or six

* This seems to have been a very amusing interview; and, in all probability, their host was not the least amused of the party, especially if he was a Jacobite.—Perhaps *he* could have given a very good reason for his change of cheer.

years old, told me, that, at a house not far distant from this place, as they were waiting for dinner, the child, who had been gaping about the kitchen, came running into the room and fell a-crying, of which the mother asking the reason, he sobbed, and said, "Mamma, don't eat any of the greens!" This occasioned a further inquiry; by which it appeared, the maid had been wringing the cale with her hands, as if she was wringing a dish-clout, and was setting it up in pyramids round the dish by way of ornament, and that her hands were very dirty, and her fingers in a lamentable condition with the itch.

Soon after the coleworts were brought to table just as the child had described their figure and situation, and the wench's hands convinced them that his whole complaint was just and reasonable.

But I would not be thought by this to insinuate that there is nothing but cleanliness in England; for I have heard of foul practices there, especially by the men-cooks in the kitchens of persons of distinction; among whom I was told by one, that, happening to go into his kitchen, where he had hardly ever been before, probably by some information, he observed his cook had stuck upon the smoky chimney-piece a large lump of butter, and, (like the pot of pigeons at Kelso) had raked part of it off with his fingers

by handfuls, as he had occasion to throw them into the saucepan.

We have one great advantage, that makes amends for many inconveniencies, that is, wholesome and agreeable drink,—I mean French claret,* which is to be met with almost every where in public-houses of any note, except in the heart of the Highlands, and sometimes even there; but the concourse of my countrymen has raised the price of it considerably. At my first coming it was but sixteen-pence a bottle, and now it is raised to two shillings, although there be no more duty paid upon it now than there was before, which, indeed, was often none at all.

French brandy, very good, is about three shillings and six-pence or four shillings a gallon, but, in quantities, from hovering ships on the coast, it has been bought for twenty-pence.

Lemons are seldom wanting here; so that punch, for those that like it, is very reasonable; but few care to drink it, as thinking the claret

* While England retained her possessions in Normandy and the south of France, common danger, and jealousy of her power, caused a strict and uninterrupted alliance for many centuries between France and Scotland; and the Scotish merchants had, by treaty, the prescriptive privilege of being the first purchasers of wines in the French market.—Old habits are not soon eradicated; and even now, people in Scotland, from whose circumstances it would not be expected, treat their friends occasionally with claret.

a much better liquor—in which I agree with them.

There lives in our neighbourhood, at a house (or castle) called Culloden, a gentleman whose hospitality is almost without bounds. It is the custom of that house, at the first visit or introduction, to take up your freedom by cracking his nut (as he terms it), that is, a cocoa-shell, which holds a pint filled with champagne, or such other sort of wine as you shall choose. You may guess by the introduction, at the contents of the volume. Few go away sober at any time; and for the greatest part of his guests, in the conclusion, they cannot go at all.

This he partly brings about by artfully proposing, after the public healths (which always imply bumpers) such private ones as he knows will pique the interest or inclinations of each particular person of the company, whose turn it is to take the lead to begin it in a brimmer; and he himself being always cheerful, and sometimes saying good things, his guests soon lose their guard, and then —— I need say no more.

For my own part, I stipulated with him, upon the first acquaintance, for the liberty of retiring when I thought convenient; and, as perseverance was made a point of honour, that I might do it without reproach.

As the company are disabled one after ano-

ther, two servants, who are all the while in waiting, take up the invalids with short poles in their chairs, as they sit (if not fallen down), and carry them to their beds; and still the hero holds out.

I remember one evening an English officer, who has a good deal of humour, feigned himself drunk, and acted his part so naturally, that it was difficult to distinguish it from reality; upon which the servants were preparing to take him up and carry him off. He let them alone till they had fixed the machine, and then raising himself up on his feet, made them a sneering bow, and told them he believed there was no occasion for their assistance; whereupon one of them, with *sang froid* and a serious air, said, "No matter, sir, we shall have you by and by." This laird keeps a plentiful table, and excellent wines of various sorts and in great quantities; as, indeed, he ought, for I have often said I thought there was as much wine spilt in his hall, as would content a moderate family.* We gave

* This *nut* (an encomium upon which will be found in the "Culloden Papers," p. 161), although no fairy gift, had its virtues, as well as the "Luck of Edenhall" in England, or the Oldenburgh horn, in Denmark.—"A hogshead of wine was constantly on tap near the hall-door, for the use of all comers; and it appears in the account-books of President Forbes, that for nine months' housekeeping in his family, the wine alone cost a sum which, at the present price of that article, would amount to up-

to a hound-puppy that is now pretty well grown, in honour of him, the name of *Bumper:* another we called *Nancy*, after our most celebrated toast; so that, shortly, in our eagerest chase we shall remember love and the bottle——You know to what this alludes.

I think a pack of hounds were never kept cheaper than here (as you may believe from the mortality of horses I have already mentioned), or that there is better hare-hunting in any part of Britain than hereabouts; though it be pretty rough riding in some places, and the ground mostly hilly. We never go far from the town, or beat long for the game, or indeed have much regard to seasons, for none here trouble themselves about it; insomuch that we might hunt at any time of the year without censure. Yet I have heard of a gentleman of this country, who was so scrupulous a sportsman, that when word was brought him that his servant was drowned

wards of £.2,000 sterling." Cullod. Papers, p. xxii.—What must his brother's expences have been?

Servants generally take the tone of their manners from their masters; and Forbes of Culloden, was one of the best-bred gentlemen of his time, which accounts for the English officer being suffered to *walk to bed.* In most other country baron's houses, the servants would have insisted upon the privilege of their office, whether he was drunk or sober, that "it might never be said, to the disgrace of their master's hospitality, that any gentleman that was his guest got to his bed otherwise than by being carried."

in passing a Highland ford, he cried out, "I thought the fellow would come to an untimely end—for he shot a hare in her form!"

In some parts, within less than ten miles of us, near the coast, the hares are in such numbers there is but little diversion in hunting, for one being started soon turns out a fresh one; then the pack is divided, and must be called off, &c. insomuch that a whole day's hunting has been entirely fruitless. The country people are very forward to tell us where the *maukin* is, as they call a hare, and are pleased to see them destroyed, because they do hurt to their cale-yards.*

Besides the hares, there are numbers of foxes; but they take to the mountains, which are rocky, and sometimes inaccessible to the dogs, of which several have been lost by falling from precipices in the pursuit; for the fox in his

* The hares in the north of England and in Scotland, are larger than those in the vicinity of London; because, the sportsmen say, the country is more open, and they are obliged to take more exercise, having further to go for shelter and food. Scotland was particularly favourable to the hare. In summer and autumn, they had the corn-fields; and, in winter, the heaths covered with furze, broom, and juniper, the thorny brakes, dingles, and "bosky bournes" (which have now given way to the plough), afforded them shelter, and the cottage cabbage-gardens, protected only by a low, turf wall, supplied plenty of food.—At present, the extensive plantations of trees, and the clover and turnip fields, are equally advantageous to them.

flight takes the most dangerous way. But when we happen to kill one of them, it is carried home, through the blessings of the people, like a dangerous captive in a Roman triumph.

In this little town there are no less than four natural fools. There are hardly any crooked people (except by accidents), because there has been no care taken to mend their shapes when they were young.*

The beggars are numerous, and exceedingly importunate, for there is no parish allowance to any.

I have been told that, before the Union, they never presumed to ask for more than a *bodle* (or the sixth part of a penny), but now they beg for a *baubee* (or halfpenny). And some of them, that they may not appear to be ordinary beggars, tell you it is to buy snuff.† Yet still it is

* We have never seen a deformed person among the Highlanders or Russians of the lower class, and none such are found among savages in any country. The diseases of such people are mostly of the acute kind; consumptive habits and long-protracted illness are very rare; healthy parents always produce a healthy offspring; and, in a rude and necessitous state of society, *weakly, rickety children cannot be reared.* Among savages it is never attempted, because they cannot provide for themselves, and nobody else can provide for them. A puny, delicate girl hardly ever gets a husband in the Highlands, because she neither can be the mother of a vigorous progeny, nor do her part in providing for them.

† In England, such a person begs something *to drink your*

common for the inhabitants (as I have seen in Edinburgh), when they have none of the smallest money, to stop in the street, and giving a halfpenny, take from the beggar a *plack, i. e.* two bodles (or the third part of a penny) in change. Yet, although the beggars frequently receive so small an alms from their benefactors, I don't know how it is, but they are generally shod, when the poor working women go barefoot. But here are no idle young fellows and wenches begging about the streets, as with you in London, to the disgrace of all order, and, as the French call it, *police*. By the way, this police is still a great office in Scotland; but, as they phrase it, is grown into *disuetude*, though the salaries remain.

Having mentioned this French word more by accident than choice, I am tempted (by way of chat) to make mention likewise of a Frenchman who understood a little English.

Soon after his arrival in London, he had observed a good deal of dirt and disorder in the streets; and asking about the *police*, but finding none that understood the term, he cried out—"Good Lord! how can one expect order among

honour's health; in Livonia, the *German* women beg something for *coffee*, which is their chief luxury; and the *Lettish* women, something for *soap*, which seldom fails with a stranger, as their appearance generally shows how much they stand in need of it.

these people, who have not such a word as *police* in their language!"

By what I have seen, the people here are something cleaner in their houses than in other parts of this country where I have been; yet I cannot set them up as patterns of cleanliness.

But in mere justice to a laird's lady, my next-door neighbour, I must tell you that in her person, and every article of her family, there is not, I believe, a cleaner woman in all Britain; and there may be others the same, for aught I know, but I never had the satisfaction to be acquainted with them.

I shall not enter into particulars; only they are, for the most part, very cautious of wearing out their household utensils of metal; insomuch that I have sometimes seen a pewter vessel to drink out of not much unlike in colour to a leaden pot to preserve tobacco or snuff.

I was one day greatly diverted with the grievous complaint of a neighbouring woman, of whom our cook had borrowed a pewter pudding-pan (for we had then formed a mess in a private lodging), and when we had done with it, and she came for her dish, she was told, by the servants below stairs, that it should be cleaned, and then sent home,

This the woman took to be such an intended injury to her pan, that she cried out—"Lord!

you'll wear it out!" and then came up stairs to make her complaint to us, which she did very earnestly.

We perceived the jest, and gravely told her it was but reasonable and civil, since it was borrowed, to send it home clean. This did not at all content her, and she left us; but at the foot of the stairs she peremptorily demanded her moveable; and when she found it had been scoured before it was used, she lost all patience, saying she had had it fifteen years, and it never had been scoured before; and she swore she would never lend it again to any of our country. But why not to *any?* sure the woman in her rage intended that same *any* as a *national reflection.* And, without a jest, I verily think it was as much so as some words I have heard over a bottle, from which some wrong-headed, or rather rancorous, coxcombs have wrested that malicious inference; though, at the same time, the affront was not discovered by any other of the company. But this does not happen so often with them on this side the Tweed as in London, where I have known it to have been done several times, apparently to raise a *querelle d'Allemand.*

Not only here, but in other parts of Scotland, I have heard several common sayings very well adapted to the inclination of the people to save

themselves pains and trouble; as, for one instance, "A clean kitchen is a token of poor housekeeping." Another is, "If a family remove from a house, and leave it in a clean condition, the succeeding tenant will not be fortunate in it." Now I think it is intended the reverse of both these proverbs should be understood, viz. That a foul kitchen is a sign of a plentiful table (by which one might conclude that some live like princes); and that a dirty house will be an advantage to him that takes it. But I shall give you an example of the fallacy of both these maxims, *i. e.* from a filthy kitchen without much cookery, and the new tenant's ill-fortune to be at the expence of making a dirty house clean (I cannot say sweet), and paying half-a-year's rent without having any benefit from it.—This happened to a friend of mine.

Some few years ago he thought it would be his lot to continue long in the Lowlands; and accordingly he took a house, or floor, within half a quarter of a mile of Edinburgh, which was then about to be left by a woman of distinction; and it not being thought proper he should see the several apartments while the lady was in the house, for he might judge of them by those beneath, he, immediately after her removal, went to view his bargain. The floor of the room where she saw company was

clean, being rubbed every morning according to custom; but the insides of the corner-cupboards, and every other part out of sight, were in a dirty condition; but, when he came to the kitchen, he was not only disgusted at the sight of it, but sick with the smell, which was intolerable; he could not so much as guess whether the floor was wood or stone, it was covered over so deep with accumulated grease and dirt, mingled together. The drawers under the table looked as if they were almost transparent with grease; the walls near the servants' table, which had been white, were almost covered with snuff spit against it; and bones of sheeps' heads lay scattered under the dresser.

His new landlord was, or affected to be, as much moved with the stench as he himself; yet the lodging apartment of the two young ladies adjoined to this odoriferous kitchen.

Well, he hired two women to cleanse this Augean part, and bought a vast quantity of sweet-herbs wherewith to rub it every where; and yet he could not bear the smell of it a month afterwards.—Of all this I was myself a witness.*

* "Muck brings luck." This proverb we now begin to apply to better purpose in our fields and stable-yards, instead of our houses. Still a family that enters a house that has been left by another has not much to boast of the order in which they find

You know very well that a thorough neatness, both in house and person, requires expence; and therefore such as are in narrow circumstances may reasonably plead an excuse for the want of it; but when persons of fortune will suffer their houses to be worse than hog-styes, I do not see how they differ in that particular from Hottentots, and they certainly deserve a *verbal punishment*, though I could very willingly have been excused from being the executioner: but this is only to you; yet, if it were made public (reserving names), I think it might be serviceable to some in whatever part of this island they may be.

As to myself, I profess I should esteem it as a favour rather than an offence, that any one

it. This *superstition* is convenient for such as are not in the habit of doing any thing of which another is to reap the benefit without sharing in the expence; and there are still too many of this sort in Scotland; but, as their means increase, they are improving fast.—God mend them!

In the days of Henry the Eighth and Queen Elizabeth, in the palaces and castles of England, the floors of the rooms were strewed with *fresh* rushes *now and then*. The guests, who used no forks, threw their bones, gristles, and fat (when they met with a bit), under the table among the rushes, where it lay for weeks among swarms of toads, newts, beetles, earwigs, and fleas! These "golden days," it seems, remained in North Britain till our author's time—if not in the dining-room and drawing-room, at least in the kitchen and hall.

would take the trouble to hold up a mirror to me, in which I could see where to wipe off those spots that would otherwise render me ridiculous.

I shall only trouble you with one more of these *saving* sayings, which is, "That if the butter has no hairs in it the cow that gave the milk will not thrive." But on this occasion I cannot forbear to tell you, it falls out so *à-propos*, that an English gentleman, in his way hither, had some butter set before him in which were a great number of hairs;* whereupon he called to the landlady, desiring she would bring him some butter upon one plate and the hairs upon another, and he would mix them himself, for he thought they were too many in proportion for the quantity of butter that was before him.

Some of the inns in these remote parts, and even far south of us, are not very inviting: your chamber, to which you sometimes enter from without-doors, by stairs as dirty as the streets, is so far from having been washed, it has hardly ever been scraped, and it would be no wonder if you stumbled over clods of dried dirt in

* Those who have read the genuine and admirable pictures in "The Cottagers of Glenburnie," will find that the clan of M'Clarty, although much reduced in numbers and rank, and under a sort of proscription, is still more powerful among us than were to be wished.

going from the fire-side to the bed, under which there often is lumber and dust that almost fill up the space between the floor and the bedstead.* But it is nauseous to see the walls and inside of the curtains spotted, as if every one that had lain there had spit straight forward in whatever position they lay.

Leonardo da Vinci, a celebrated painter, and famous for his skill in other arts and sciences, in a treatise written by himself on the art of painting, advises those of his profession to contemplate the spots on an old wall, as a means to revive their latent ideas; and he tells them they may thereby create new thoughts, which might produce something purely original. I doubt not he meant in the same manner as people fancy they see heads and other images in a decaying fire. This precept of his has sometimes come in my mind when I cast my eye on the various forms and colours of the spots I have been speaking of; and a very little

* Where the climate is unkind and the ground penurious, so that the most fruitful years produce only enough to maintain themselves, life, unimproved and unadorned, fades into something little more than naked existence; every one is busy for himself, and without attention to those arts by which the pleasure of others may be increased.—*Johnson's Tour*, Works, vol. viii. 378.

attention has produced the effect proposed by the painter.

My landlord comes into the room uninvited, and, though he never saw you before, sits himself down and enters into conversation with you, and is so sociable as to drink with you; and many of them will call, when the bottle is out, for another; but, like mine host at Kelso, few will stir to fetch any thing that is wanting.

This behaviour may have been made, by custom, familiar to their own countrymen; but I wonder they do not consider that it may be disagreeable to strangers of any appearance, who have been used to treat their *landlords* in quite another manner,* even permitting an innkeeper, worth thousands, to wait at table, and never show the least uneasiness at his humility; but it may be said he was no *gentleman*.

Pride of family, in mean people, is not peculiar to this country, but is to be met with in others; and indeed it seems natural to mankind, when they are not possessed of the goods of fortune, to pique themselves upon some imaginary advantage. Upon this remark I shall so far anticipate (by way of postcript) my High-

* The keeper of a poor whiskey hovel in Lochaber could know very little how *strangers* treated *landlords*, except that, when they came to his hut, he met with less respect from them than from his neighbours.

land account as to give you a low occurrence that happened when I was last among the hills.

A young Highland girl in rags, and only the bastard daughter of a man very poor and employed as a labourer, but of a family so old that, with respect to him and many others, it was quite worn out. This girl was taken in by a corporal's wife, to do any dirty work in an officer's kitchen, and, having been guilty of some fault or neglect, was treated a little roughly; whereupon the neighbouring Highland women loudly clamoured against the cook, saying, "What a monster is that to mal-treat a *gentleman's bairn!*" and the poor wretch's resentment was beyond expression upon that very account.*

* If, in those days, the termagant wife of a *Highland* corporal, who could not speak a word of English, had *treated a little roughly* the bastard daughter of an *English* gentleman in reduced circumstances, in any small country town in England, what would the women of the place, and *and the poor wretch herself*, have said *on that very account?* The love of kindred, so honourable to the Highland character, procures for *natural children* in that country a kindness and attention which they do not meet with elsewhere. A married lady in the Highlands would consider her children as disgraced if their *half-brothers* and *half-sisters* were not suitably provided for in the world; and, as they come out first, they not unfrequently fare the best, and are very often useful afterwards to the younger branches of the family.

LETTER VIII.

As I have, in point of time, till the last post, been perfectly punctual in this my tattling correspondence, though not so exact in my letters upon other subjects, you may possibly expect I should give you a reason for this failure, at least I am myself inclined to do so.

Several of us (the English) have been, by invitation, to dine with an eminent chief, not many miles from hence, in the Highlands; but I do assure you it was his importunity (the effect of his interest) and our own curiosity, more than any particular inclination, that induced us to a compliance.

We set out early in the morning without guide or interpreter, and passed a pretty wide river, into the county of Ross, by a boat that we feared would fall to pieces in the passage. This excursion was made in order to a short visit on that side the Murray Frith, and to lengthen out the way, that we might not be too early with our noble host.

Our first visit being dispatched, we changed

our course, and, as the sailor says, *stood* directly, as we thought, for the castle of our inviter; but we soon strayed out of our way among the hills, where there was nothing but heath, bogs, and stones, and no visible track to direct us, it being across the country.

In our way we inquired of three several Highlanders, but could get nothing from them but *Haniel Sasson uggit*. We named the title of our chief, and pointed with the finger; but he was known to none of them, otherwise than by his *patronymic*, which none of us knew at that time. (I shall have something to say of this word, when I come to speak of the Highlands in general.) But if we had been never so well acquainted with his ancestry name, it would have stood us in little stead, unless we had known likewise how to persuade some one of those men to show us the way. At length we happened to meet with a gentleman, as I supposed, because he spoke English, and he told us we must go west *a piece* (though there was no appearance of the sun), and then incline to the north; that then we were to go along the side of a hill, and ascend another (which to us was then unseen), and from the top of it we should see the castle.

I should have told you, that in this part of our peregrination we were upon the borders of the

mountains only; and the hills, for the most part, not much higher than Hampstead or Highgate.

No sooner had he given us this confused direction, but he skipped over a little bog, that was very near us, and left us to our perplexed consultations. However, at last we gained the height; but when we were there, one of our company began to curse the Highlander for deceiving us, being prepossessd with the notion of a *castle,* and seeing only a house hardly fit for one of our farmers of fifty pounds a-year; and in the court-yard a parcel of low outhouses, all built with turf, like other Highland huts.

When we approached this *castle,* our chief, with several attendants* (for he had seen us on the hill), came a little way to meet us; gave us a welcome, and conducted us into a parlour pretty well furnished.

After some time, we had notice given us that dinner was ready in another room; where we

* "Among other singular customs," says Martyn, "every chieftain had a bold armour-bearer, whose business was always to attend the person of his master night and day, to prevent any surprize; and this man was called Galloglach: he had likewise a double portion of meat assigned him at every meal. The measure of meat usually given him is called to this day *bieysir*, that is, a man's portion, meaning thereby an extraordinary man, whose strength and courage distinguished him from the common sort."—*Martyn's Western Islands*, 104.

were no sooner sat down to table, but a band of music struck up in a little place out of sight, and continued playing all the time of dinner.

These concealed musicians he would have had us think were his constant domestics; but I saw one of them, some time after dinner, by mere chance, whereby I knew they were brought from this town to regale us with more magnificence.

Our entertainment consisted of a great number of dishes, at a long table, all brought in under covers, but almost cold. What the greatest part of them were I could not tell, nor did I inquire, for they were disguised after the French manner; but there was placed next to me a dish, which I guessed to be boiled beef;—I say that was my conjecture, for it was covered all over with stewed cabbage, like a smothered rabbit, and over all a deluge of bad butter.

When I had removed some of the encumberance, helped myself, and tasted, I found the pot it was boiled in had given it too high a *goût* for my palate, which is always inclined to plain eating.

I then desired one of the company to help me to some roasted mutton, which was indeed delicious, and therefore served very well for my share of all this inelegant and ostentatious plenty.

We had very good wine, but did not drink much of it; but one thing I should have told you was intolerable, viz. the number of Highlanders that attended at table, whose feet and foul linen, or woollen, I don't know which, were more than a match for the odour of the dishes.

The conversation was greatly engrossed by the chief, before, at, and after dinner; but I do not recollect any thing was said that is worth repeating.

There were, as we went home, several descants upon our feast; but I remember one of our company said he had tasted a pie, and that many a *peruke* had been baked in a better crust.

When we were returned hither in the evening we supped upon beef-steaks, which some, who complained they had not made a dinner, rejoiced over, and called them a luxury.

I make little doubt but, after our noble host had gratified his ostentation and vanity, he cursed us in his heart for the expence, and that his family must starve for a month to retrieve the profusion; for this is according to his known character.*

* There is little doubt that their *noble host* was Lord Lovat; a bad man, but of considerable talents, various and extensive knowledge of men and things, consummate address, and the most polished manners, and intimately acquainted with the modes and usages of courtly life both in France and England. He was

Toward the conclusion of my last letter I gave you some account of the lodging-rooms of many of the inns in this country, not forgetting my landlord; and now I shall descend to the stables, which are often wretched hovels, and, instead of straw for litter, are clogged with such an accumulated quantity of dung, one might almost think they required another Hercules to cleanse them.

There is another thing very inconvenient to the traveller, which I had omitted. He is made to wait a most unreasonable while for every thing for which he has occasion. I shall give you only one instance among a hundred.

pompous and splendid from policy, wishing to enhance the price of his assumed consequence; but, like other artificial characters, he was apt to overdo the part he was acting. It was his study, at that time, to ingratiate himself with both political parties, particularly with the friends of government, *because he bore them least good-will;* and no man understood the business of a courtier better. With his intimate knowledge of the character and habits of the English, it is not to be imagined that he invited them to a feast, at which they could find nothing that was fit to be eaten. Our author dined on *delicious mutton;* and had his companions been entertained by the king of France, or the emperor of Germany, they would have made like complaints, and roared for beef-steaks when they got to their lodgings. If Lovat, at his own table, was not entertaining, it must have been through the faults of his guests. The *real*, but *ostentatious superiority* of their host, in addition to his suspected politics, was probably the true cause of their splenetic jealousy and discontent.

At the *blair* of Athol, benighted, tired, and hungry, I came to the inn, and was put into a room without any light; where, knowing the dilatory way of those people, I sat patiently waiting for a candle near half an hour; at last, quite tired with expectation, I called pretty hastily, and, I must confess, not without anger, for a light and some wine; this brought in a servant maid, who, as usual, cried out, "*What's your will?*" I then again told her my wants; but had no other answer than that her mistress had the keys, and was at supper, and she could not be disturbed. Her mistress, it is true, is a *gentlewoman,* but before she was married to the stately beggar who keeps that house she lived in this town, and was humble enough to draw *two-penny.*

The two-penny, as they call it, is their common ale; the price of it is two-pence for a Scots pint, which is two quarts.

In sliding thus from the word two-penny to a description of that liquor, there came to my memory a ridiculing dissertation upon such kind of transitions in one of the Tatlers, for those books I have with me, which, indeed, are here a good part of my library.

This liquor is disagreeable to those who are not used to it; but time and custom will make almost any thing familiar. The malt, which is dried with peat, turf, or furzes, gives to the

drink a taste of that kind of fuel: it is often drank before it is cold out of a *cap*, or *coif*,* as they call it: this is a wooden dish, with two ears or handles, about the size of a tea-saucer, and as shallow, so that a steady hand is necessary to carry it to the mouth, and, in windy weather, at the door of a change, I have seen the liquor blown into the drinker's face. This drink is of itself apt to give a diarrhœa; and therefore, when the natives drink plentifully of it, they interlace it with brandy or usky.

I have been speaking only of the common ale; for in some few gentlemen's houses I have drank as good as I think I ever met with in any part of England, but not brewed with the malt of this country.†

The mention of their capacious pint pot, which they call a *stoup*, puts me in mind of part of a dialogue between two footmen, one English the other Scots.

Says the English fellow, "Ye sorry dog, your shilling is but a penny." "Aye," says

* *Coif—quech*, in Gaël. *cuoch*, which signifies simply *a dish*.

† The best malt used in Scotland is still brought from England. In Scotland and the north of England the crops of barley are often luxuriant, but, from the moisture of the climate, it pushes up to straw, and the grain is of inferior quality, and the husk much thicker than in the south.

Sawny, who, it seems, was a lover of ale, "'tis true; but the de'el tak him that has the least *pint-stoup*."

They tell me, that in Edinburgh and other great towns, where there are considerable brewings, they put salt into the drink, which makes it brackish and intoxicating.

The natives of this town speak better English than those of any other part of Scotland, having learned it originally from the troops in the time of Oliver Cromwell;* but the Irish accent that sometimes attends it is not very agreeable.

The Irish tongue was, I may say lately, universal even in many parts of the Lowlands; and I have heard it from several in Edinburgh, that, before the Union, it was the language of the shire of Fife, although that county be separated from the capital only by the Frith of Forth, an arm of the sea, which from thence is but seven miles over; and, as a proof, they told me, after that event (the Union) it became one condition of an indenture, when a youth of either sex was to be bound on the Edinburgh side of the water,

* All over the Highlands people of education speak English very correctly, because they learn it in the schools, and not in the nursery. It is *book English*, somewhat stiff, but free from provincialisms, vulgarisms, and cant expressions.

that the apprentice should be taught the English tongue.*

This town is not ill situated for trade, and very well for a herring-fishery in particular; but except the shoals would be so complaisant as to steer into some part of the Murray Frith near them, they may remain in safety from any attempts of our adventurers: yet, notwithstanding they do not go out to sea themselves, they are continually complaining of the Dutch, who, they say, with their vast number of *busses*, break and drive the shoals from coming nearer to them.

There was lately a year in which they made a considerable advantage (I think they say five or six thousand pounds) from the quantity of fish, which, as I may say, fell into their mouths; but this happens very rarely, and then their nets and vessels are in a bad condition. Their excuse is, that they are poor; and when they have been asked, Why then does not a greater number contribute to a stock sufficient to carry on a fishery effectually? to this they have answered frankly, that they could not trust one another.

* It is so long since Gaëlic was the language of Fifeshire, that nothing is known concerning it; but there is no reason to suppose that in that country they ever used any Celtic dialect which would have been intelligible to a Highlander or Irishman during the last five centuries.

Some of the honester sort have complained, that when they had a good quantity of fish to send abroad (for the sake of the bounty on salt exported), the herrings have not swam much thicker in the barrel than they did before in the sea, and this brought their ships into disrepute at foreign markets.

I have heard, from good authority, of a piece of *finesse* that was practised here, which must have been the product of some very fertile brain, viz. the screwing of wool into a cask, and laying over it some pieces of pickled salmon, separated by a false head, and by that means, and an oath, obtaining the bounty upon salt exported, as if the whole was salmon, and at the same time running the wool; but to this, the connivance of the collector of the customs was necessary.

This fraud (among others) was made a handle to procure the appointment of an inspector-general at the salary of 200 *l. per annum*, which was done at the representation and request of a cer- M —— of D——, who had been, as the cant is, a good boy for many years, and never asked for any thing; but at first the M——r made strong objections to it, as it was to be a new-created place, which was generally the cause of clamour, and particularly with respect to the person proposed, who had formerly been

condemned to be hanged for perjury relating to the customs, and was a Jacobite. But, in order to remove all these scruples, the gentleman who solicited the affair first acknowledged all that to be true. "But, sir," said he, "the laird is familar with the man's wife."—"Nay then," says the M——r, "he must have it."

Not long afterwards, there was information given that a considerable quantity of wine and brandy was run, and lodged in a house on the north side of the Murray Frith, and the new-made officer applied accordingly for a serjeant and twelve men to support him in making the seizure. When he arrived at the place, and had posted his guard at some small distance from the house, he went in and declared his business: whereupon the owner told him, that if he proceeded further he would ruin him; for that he knew of a sum of money he had taken, on the other side of the water, for his connivance at a much greater cargo.

Upon this, with guilt and surprise, the custom-house officer said, "But what must I do with the soldiers?"—"Nay," says the other, "do you look to that."

Then he went out, and having mused awhile, he returned in better spirits, and said, "Now I have got it! You have fire-arms, I suppose?"—"Yes," says the other.—"Then do you arm

yourself and your servants, and come resolutely to the door, and swear to me that you will all die upon the spot rather than your house should be ransacked, unless an authentic warrant be produced for that purpose."

This was done; and the officer immediately fell to fumbling in his pockets, till he had gone through the whole order of them; and then, turning to the serjeant, he cried out, "What an unfortunate dog am I! what shall I do? I have left my warrant at home!" To conclude: after all this farce had been well acted, he told the serjeant there could nothing be done, by reason of this unlucky accident, but to return to Inverness, giving him half-a-crown, and to each of the soldiers one shilling.*

Some time ago insurance was the practice, which the Royal Exchange soon discovered; but

* This story is told of a Jacobite; but the secret of such a transaction must have remained exclusively with those who knew better than to divulge it. The rogue who exported the wool, perhaps, furnished the hint to those who export cargoes of rum, &c. from London, in puncheons filled with water, except at the end where the false bottom is. There are, in all countries, too many custom-house casuists like the ship-captain, who being reproached for an oath which he had just taken, knowing it to be false,—"What!" said he, "don't you know that when I got the command of a ship, I took a solemn oath never to swear truth at the custom-house, but when it was convenient?—*Would you have me perjure myself?*"

this imputation was brought upon the town, as I have been assured, by one single person.

But what am I talking of? I am mentioning to you four or five illicit dealers, when you can tell me of great part of our own coast, where almost all degrees of men are either practising, encouraging, or conniving at the same iniquity.

The principal importation of these parts consists in wines, brandy, tea, silks, &c. which is no great advantage to those who deal that way, when their losses by bad debts, seizures, and other casualties, are taken into the account: and it is injurious to the community, by exchanging their money for those commodities which are consumed among themselves, excepting the soldiery and a few strangers, who bring their money with them.

Every now and then, by starts, there have been agreements made among the landed men, to banish, as much as in them lay, the use of brandy in particular. By these contracts they have promised to confine themselves to their own growth, and to enjoin the same to their families, tenants, and other dependants; but, like some salutary laws made for the public, these resolutions have not been long regarded.

I wish the reformation could be made for the good of the country (for the evil is universal);

but I cannot say I should even be contented it should extend to the claret, till my time comes to return to England and humble port, of which, if I were but only inclined to taste, there is not one glass to be obtained for love or money, either here or in any other part of Scotland that has fallen within my knowledge: but this does not at all excite my regret. You will say I have been giving you a pretty picture of patriotism in miniature, or as it relates to myself.

Sometimes they export pretty handsome quantities of pickled salmon,* and the money expended by the troops is a good advantage to the town and the country hereabouts; of which they are so sensible, that, unlike our own countrymen, who think the soldiery a burden, they have several times solicited for more companies to be quartered in the town; though, God knows, most of the quarters are such as, with you, would hardly be thought good enough for a favourite dog.

It was but the other day that a grenadier came to the commanding officer, and begged of him to take a view of his bed; and, with tears in his eyes, told him he had always been a clean fellow (for those were his words), but here he could not keep himself free from vermin.

* One nobleman in Scotland is said to derive 10,000*l.* a year from his salmon-fisheries alone.

As I happened to be present, the officer desired me to go along with him. I did so; and what the man called a bed proved to be a little quantity of straw, not enough to keep his sides from the hardness of the ground, and that too laid under the stairs, very near the door of a miserable hovel. And though the magistrates have often been applied to, and told that the very meanest among the soldiers had never been used to such lodging, yet their favourite town's-people have always been excused, and these most wretched quarters continued to them.* And I cannot doubt but this has contributed greatly to the bloody-flux, which sweeps away so many of them, that, at some seasons, for a good while together, there has hardly a day passed but a soldier has been buried. Thus are they desirous to make their gains of the poor men without any regard to

* Billets were given upon private housekeepers; but as those who could pay so much a-week were excused, the soldiers were quartered upon such only as had little accommodation for themselves. What curses such insolent and profligate guests must have been, particularly to the female part of the quiet and religious family of a poor Scotish cottager at that time, may be easily conceived. And what must their discipline and conduct in general have been, when our author tells us that the *officers made the natives speak English, by beating them with a stick?* The bloody-flux *is said* to be produced by the water of Inverness upon strangers, particularly English.

their ease or their health, which I think is something to the purpose of a profligate saying I have heard,—"Give me the fortune, and let the devil take the woman!" But when the new barracks are completed, the soldiers will have warm quarters, and the town lose great part of their profit by provision made for them from more distant parts.

There is one practice among these merchants which is not only politic but commendable, and not to be met with every where, which is, that if a bill of exchange be drawn upon any one of them, and he fails in cash to make payment in due time, in that case the rest of them will contribute to it rather than the town should receive any discredit.

In a former letter I took notice that there are two churches in this town, one for the English, the other for the Irish tongue. To these there are three ministers, each of them, as I am told, at one hundred pounds a-year.

It is a rule in Scotland, or at least is generally understood to be so, that none shall have more than that stipend, or any less than fifty; yet I have been likewise informed, that some of the ministers* in Edinburgh and other cities make

* The stipend for ministers at the very lowest, should, by act of parliament, be eight chalders of victual, or eight hundred merks Scots; and the stipend of the ministers of Edinburgh, *til*

of it near two hundred, but how the addition arises has not come to my knowledge. What I shall say of the ministers of this town is, that they are men of good lives and sober conversation, and less stiff in many indifferent matters than most of their brethren in other parts of Scotland; and, to say the truth, the Scotish clergy (except some rare examples to the contrary) lead regular and unblamable lives.

What I have further to say on this head shall be more general, but nothing of this kind can be applied to all.

The subjects of their sermons are, for the most part, grace, free-will, predestination, and other topics hardly ever to be determined: they might as well talk Hebrew to the common people, and I think to any body else. But *thou shalt do no manner of work* they urge with very great success. The text relating to Cæsar's tribute is seldom explained, even in places where great part of the inhabitants live by the contrary of that example. In England, you know, the minister, if the people were found to be negligent of their clothes when they came to church, would re-

of late, two thousand five hundred merks: but now it is enacted, by the town-council of that city, that none who shall hereafter become ministers there, shall have more than two thousand merks, or one hundred and eleven pounds two shillings and two-pence sterling.—*Chamberlayne's History*, part ii. p. 69.

commend decency and cleanliness, as a mark of respect due to the place of worship; and indeed, humanly speaking, it is so to one another. But, on the contrary, if a woman, in some parts of Scotland, should appear at kirk dressed, though not better than at an ordinary visit, she would be in danger of a rebuke from the pulpit, and of being told she ought to purify her soul, and not employ part of the sabbath in decking out her body; and I must needs say, that most of the females in both parts of the kingdom follow, in that particular, the instructions of their spiritual guides religiously.

The minister here in Scotland would have the ladies come to kirk in their plaids, which hide any loose dress, and their faces too, if they would be persuaded, in order to prevent the wandering thoughts of young fellows, and perhaps some young old ones too; for the minister looks upon a well-dressed woman to be an object unfit to be seen in the time of divine service, especially if she be handsome.*

The before-mentioned writer of a "Journey

* This, in the *Presbyterian* clergy, was mere spirit of opposition, because, in *Roman Catholic* times, acts of parliament had been made, at the request of the clergy, forbidding women appearing at church *moussaled* (muzzled), or muffled up in veils, &c. as such concealment was sometimes made subservient to intrigues.—How near extremes come to each other!

through Scotland," has borrowed a thought from the Tatler or Spectator, I do not remember which of them.

Speaking of the ladies' plaids, he says—"They are striped with green, scarlet, and other colours, which, in the middle of a church on a Sunday, look like a *parterre de fleurs*." Instead of *striped* he should have said *chequered*, but that would not so well agree with his flowers; and I must ask leave to differ from him in the simile, for at first I thought it a very odd sight; and, as to outward appearance, more fit to be compared with an assembly of harlequins than a bed of tulips.

But I am told this traveller through Scotland was not ill paid for his adulatian by the extraordinary call there has been for his last volume. The other two, which I am told relate to England, I have not seen, nor did I ever hear their character.

They tell me this book is more common in this country than I shall say; and this, in particular, that I have seen was thumbed in the opening where the *pretty town of Inverness* is mentioned, much more than the book we saw at a painter's house in Westminster some years ago; which you will remember (to our diversion) was immoderately soiled in that important part where mention was made of himself.

O, Flattery! never did any altar smoke with so much incense as thine!—thy female votaries fall down reversed before thee; the wise, the great—whole towns, cities, provinces, and kingdoms—receive thy oracles with joy, and even adore the very priests that serve in thy temples!*

* In addition to what has been said of the livings of the clergy, it may be added, that every one has a parsonage, garden, and glebe consisting of a few acres of land. Of the stipends, the *minimum* at present is 150*l.* a-year; the *medium*, about 250*l.* which is considerably higher than the medium of church-livings in England and Wales taken together; and there is no *maximum*. The country clergymen in general, if not ambitious of public notice, are most at their ease. Few livings exceed 500*l.* but North Leith, near Edinburgh, is at present worth about 1,200*l.* a-year, and will soon be worth considerably more, in consequence of the *glebe* being feued out for building docks, &c. From a similar cause, a clergymen in Greenock has about 800*l.* a-year, which, it is said, will soon be nearly doubled.

The widows of clergymen are divided into three classes, who receive pensions according to the class in which they have been entered by their husbands; the lowest receive 15*l.* a-year; the middle 20*l.*; and the highest 25*l.* This arises from a fund established by the clergy themselves, to which each pays so much a-year. There is also a fluctuating surplus-fund, arising from other sources, from which a distribution is annually made to each according to her class; but none of the highest class have ever, in any one year, received more than between thirty-six and thirty-seven pounds.

LETTER IX.

I WISH these ministers would speak oftener, and sometimes more civilly than they do, of morality.

To tell the people they may go to hell with all their morality at their back,—this surely may insinuate to weak minds, that it is to be avoided as a kind of sin;—at best that it will be of no use to them: and then no wonder they neglect it, and set their enthusiastic notions of grace in the place of righteousness. This is in general; but I must own, in particular, that one of the ministers of this town has been so careful of the morals of his congregation that he earnestly exhorted them, from the pulpit, to fly from the example of a wicked *neighbouring nation*.

Their prayers are often more like narrations to the Almighty than petitions for what they want; and the *sough*, as it is called (the whine), is unmanly, and much beneath the dignity of their subject.

I have heard of one minister so great a pro-

ficient in this *sough,* and his notes so remarkably flat and productive of horror, that a master of music set them to his fiddle, and the wag used to say, that in the most jovial company, after he had played his tune but once over, there was no more mirth among them all the rest of that evening than if they were just come out of the cave of Trophonius.

Their preaching extempore exposes them to the danger of exhibiting undigested thoughts and mistakes; as, indeed, it might do to any others who make long harangues without some previous study and reflection; but that some of them make little preparation, I am apt to conclude from their immethodical ramblings.

I shall mention one mistake,—I may call it an absurdity:

The minister was explaining to his congregation the great benefits arising from the sabbath. He told them it was a means of frequently renewing their covenant, &c.; and, likewise, it was a worldly good, as a day of rest for themselves, their servants, and cattle. Then he recounted to them the different days observed in other religions, as the seventh day by the Jews, &c. "But," says he, "behold the particular wisdom of our institution, in ordaining it to be kept on the first; for if it were any other day, it would make a *broken week!*"

The cant is only approved of by the ignorant (poor or rich), into whom it instils a kind of enthusiasm, in moving their passions by sudden starts of various sounds. They have made of it a kind of art not easy to attain; but people of better understanding make a jest of this drollery, and seem to be highly pleased when they meet with its contrary. The latter is manifest to me by their judgment of a sermon preached at Edinburgh by a Scots minister, one Mr. Wishart.

Several of us went to hear him, and you would not have been better pleased in any church in England.

There was a great number of considerable people, and never was there a more general approbation than there was among them at going from the kirk.

This gentleman, as I was afterwards informed, has set before him Archbishop Tillotson for his model; and, indeed, I could discover several of that prelate's thoughts in the sermon.

One of the ministers of this town (an old man, who died some time ago) undertook one day to entertain us with a dialogue from the pulpit, relating to the fall of man, in the following manner, which cannot so well be conveyed in writing as by word of mouth:—

First he spoke in a low voice——"And the L. G. came into the garden, and said—"

Then loud and angrily——"Adam, where art?"

Low and humbly——"Lo, here am I, Lord!"

Violently——"And what are ye deeing there?"

With a fearful trembling accent——"Lord, I was nacked, and I hid mysel."

Outrageously——"Nacked! And what then? Hast thou eaten, &c."

Thus he profanely (without thinking so) described the omniscient and merciful God in the character of an angry master, who had not patience to hear what his poor offending servant had to say in excuse of his fault. And this they call speaking in a familiar way to the understandings of the ordinary people.

But perhaps they think what the famous astrologer, Lilly, declared to a gentleman, who asked him how he thought any man of good sense would buy his predictions. This question started another, which was—What proportion the men of sense bore to those who could not be called so? and at last they were reduced to one in twenty. "Now," says the conjurer, "let the nineteen buy my prophecies, and then," snapping his fingers, "that! for your one man of good sense."

Not to trouble you with any more particulars of their oddities from the pulpit, I shall only say, that, since I have been in this country, I have heard so many, and of so many, that I really think there is nothing set down in the book, called "Scot's Presbyterian Eloquence," but what, at least, is probable. But the young ministers are introducing a manner more decent and reasonable, which irritates the old stagers against them; and therefore they begin to preach at one another.

If you happen to be in company with one or more of them, and wine, ale, or even a dram is called for, you must not drink till a long grace be said over it, unless you could be contented to be thought irreligious and unmannerly.

Some time after my coming to this country I had occasion to ride a little way with two ministers of the kirk; and, as we were passing by the door of a *change*, one of them, the weather being cold, proposed a dram.

As the alehouse-keeper held it in his hand, I could not conceive the reason of their bowing to each other, as pleading by signs to be excused, without speaking one word.

I could not but think they were contending who should drink last, and myself, a stranger, out of the question; but, in the end, the glass was forced upon me, and I found the compli-

ment was which of them should give the preference to the other of saying grace over the brandy. For my part, I thought they did not well consider to whom they were about to make their address, when they were using all this ceremony one to another in his presence; and, to use their own way of argument, concluded they would not have done it in the presence at St. James's.*

They seem to me to have but little knowledge of men, being restrained from all free conversation, even in coffee-houses, by the fear

* These peculiarities are now rarely to be met with, except among Presbyterian seceders, and not always among them, and among *the remnant that is left of the Covenant*, called Cameronians. These last are mostly of the very lowest class; but even *their* rigour begins to relax; they have discontinued their annual pilgrimage to the Pentland Hills, to vent their impatience and rage against their Maker for not "avenging the blood of his saints upon the posterity of their persecutors;" they condescend to preach in houses when the weather is bad; and many of them have even used *fanners* to winnow their corn, although that wicked machine was long anathematized as a daring and impious invention, suggested by the devil for raising artificial wind of their own making, in contempt and defiance of Him who made the wind to blow where it listeth!—As to the "Presbyterian Eloquence," the anecdotes in the *first edition* were authentic, and made but a small portion of an immense collection of the same sort made by the nonjurors, which could not be published on account of the horrible impieties and indecencies which they contained.

of scandal, which may be attended with the loss of their livelihood; and they are exceedingly strict and severe upon one another in every thing which, according to their way of judging, might give offence.

Not long ago, one of them, as I am told, was suspended for having a shoulder of mutton roasted on a Sunday morning; another for powdering his peruke on that day. Six or seven years ago, a minister (if my information be right) was suspended by one of the presbyteries—The occasion this:

He was to preach at a kirk some little way within the Highlands, and set out on the Saturday; but, in his journey, the rains had swelled the rivers to such a degree, that a ford which lay in his way was become impassable.

This obliged him to take up his lodging for that night at a little hut near the river; and getting up early the next morning, he found the waters just enough abated for him to venture a passage, which he did with a good deal of hazard, and came to the kirk in good time, where he found the people assembled and waiting his arrival.

This riding on horseback of a Sunday was deemed a great scandal. It is true, that when this affair was brought, by appeal, before the general assembly in Edinburgh, his suspension

was removed, but not without a good many debates on the subject.

Though some things of this kind are carried too far, yet I cannot but be of opinion, that these restraints on the conduct of the ministers, which produce so great regularity among them, contribute much to the respect they meet with from the people; for although they have not the advantage of any outward appearance, by dress, to strike the imagination, or to distinguish them from other men who happen to wear black or dark gray, yet they are, I think I may say, ten times more reverenced than our ministers in England.

Their severity likewise to the people, for matters of little consequence, or even for works of necessity, is sometimes extraordinary.

A poor man who lodged in a little house where (as I have said) one family may often hear what is said in another; this man was complained of to the minister of the parish by his next neighbour, that he had talked too freely to his *own wife*, and threatened her with such usage as we may reasonably suppose she would easily forgive.

In conclusion, the man was sentenced to do penance for giving scandal to his neighbours: a pretty subject for a congregation to ruminate upon!

The informer's wife, it seems, was utterly against her husband's making the complaint; but it was thought she might have been the innocent occasion of it, by some provoking words or signs that bore relation to the criminal's offence. This was done not far from Edinburgh.

One of our more northern ministers, whose parish lies along the coast between Spey and Findorn, made some fishermen do penance for sabbath-breaking, in going out to sea, though purely with endeavour to save a vessel in distress by a storm.* But behold how inconsistent with this pious zeal was his practice in a case relating to his own profit.

Whenever the director of a certain English undertaking in this country fell short of silver wherewith to pay a great number of workmen, and he was therefore obliged on pay-day to give gold to be divided among several of them, then this careful guardian of the sabbath exacted of the poor men a shilling for the change of every guinea,† taking that exorbitant advantage of their necessity.

* Had this ever taken place, it would have been contrary to the most rigid rules of presbyterian discipline in the severest times. *Works of necessity and mercy* were never considered as a breach of the Sabbath in Scotland.

† This was a common trick in country places in the north of Scotland, as long as guineas were in circulation, under pretence

In business, or ordinary conversation, they are, for the most part, complaisant; and I may say, supple, when you talk with them singly; —at least I have found them so; but when collected in a body at a presbytery or synod, they assume a vast authority, and make the poor sinner tremble.

Constantly attending ordinances, as they phrase it, is a means with them of softening vices into mere frailties; but a person who neglects the kirk, will find but little quarter.

Some time ago two officers of the army had transgressed with two sisters at Stirling: one of these gentlemen seldom failed of going to kirk, the other never was there. The affair came to a hearing before a presbytery, and the result was, that the girl who had the child by the kirk-goer was an impudent baggage, and deserved to be whipped out of town for seducing an honest man; and that he who never went to kirk, was an abandoned wretch for debauching her sister.

Whether the ordinary people have a notion that when so many holy men meet together upon any occasion, the evil spirits are thereby provoked to be mischievous, or what their

that the guinea *might be light*, and they had no scales to weigh it. The *change* being from the weekly collections for the poor, it is to be hoped that they were the gainers.

whimsical fancy is I cannot tell, but it is with them a common saying, that when the clergy assemble the day is certainly tempestuous.*

If my countrymen's division of the year were just, there would always be a great chance for it without any supernatural cause; for they say, in these northern parts, the year is composed of nine months winter and three months bad weather; but I cannot fully agree with them in their observation, though, as I have said before, the neighbouring mountains frequently convey to us such winds as may not improperly be called tempests.

In one of my journeys hither, I observed, at the first stage on this side Berwick, a good deal of scribbling upon a window; and, among the rest, the following lines, viz.

Scotland! thy weather's like a modish wife,
Thy winds and rains for ever are at strife;
So termagant, awhile her bluster tries,
And when she can no longer scold—she cries!

A. H.

By the two initial letters of a name, I soon

* This sneer at the clergy is not peculiar to Scotland. Every one who has been at sea knows what an aversion sailors have to a parson as a passenger. If bad weather comes, he is sure to be considered as the Jonas, who ought to be sacrificed to the winds. They have, for the same reason, an aversion to a corpse on board.

concluded it was your neighbour, Mr. Aaron Hill,* but wondered at his manner of taking leave of this country, after he had been soexceedingly complaisant to it, when here, as to compare its subterraneous riches with those of Mexico and Peru.

There is one thing I always greatly disapproved, which is, that when any thing is whispered, though by few, to the disadvantage of a woman's reputation, and the matter be never so doubtful, the ministers are officiously busy to find out the truth, and by that means make a kind of publication of what, perhaps, was only a malicious surmise—or if true, might have been hushed up; but their stirring in it possesses the mind of every one, who has any knowledge of the party accused, to her disadvantage: and this is done to prevent scandal! I will not say what I have heard others allege, that those who are so needlessly inquisitive in matters of this nature must certainly feel a

* Aaron Hill was an enlightened traveller, who had visited many countries, and learnt fairly to appreciate their advantages and disadvantages. Had he come, drenched and weary, into the Old Hall, at Buxton, in Derbyshire, where they have rain during 300 days in the year, and *Scotch mist* during the other sixty-five, he would not have been in much better humour with their climate, however well he might have liked their *coals*, *moor-game*, and *muffins*.

secret pleasure in such-like examinations; and the joke among the English is, that they highly approve of this proceeding, as it serves for a direction where to find a loving girl upon occasion.

I have been told, that if two or more of these ministers admonish, or accuse a man, concerning the scandal of suspected visits to some woman, and that he, through anger, peevishness, contempt, or desire to screen the woman's reputation, should say, *she is my wife*, then the ministers will make a declaration upon the spot to this purpose, viz.*

"In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, we pronounce you, A. B. and C. D., to be man and wife;" and the marriage is valid, at least so far as it relates to Scotland; but whether

* In Scotland a mutual acknowledgment before witnesses constitutes marriage, and Gretna Green has no privilege. In a recent case, where an earldom, and the fate of another wife and child, depended upon the decision, it was awarded in an English court, after consulting the first law authorities in Scotland, that the marriage was lawful, because a certificate, written upon a scrap of paper, and signed by the gentleman, was produced by the lady; and it was proved that they had afterwards been together long enough to render the consummation of the marriage probable. In one respect, the law of Scotland is more liberal and humane than that of England; the man who marries the mother of his children legitimates those born *before marriage*, and puts them on exactly the same footing with those born *after*.

this kind of coupling would be binding when the parties are in any other country has not come to my knowledge.

If a woman of any consideration has made a slip, which becomes visible, and her lover be a man of some fortune, and an inhabitant, the kirk will support her, and oblige him either to marry her, to undergo the penance, or leave the country; for the woman in that circumstance always declares she was deceived under promise of marriage; and some of them have spread their snares with design by that means to catch a husband.* Nay, I have known English gentlemen, who have been in government employments, that, after such an affair, have been hunted from place to place, almost from one end of Scotland to the other by the women, who, wherever they came, have been favoured by the clergy; and, at best, the man has got rid of his embarrassment by a composition: and, indeed, it is no jesting matter; for

* Mons. de St. Evremont, in a letter to the Marquis de Crequi, says much the same thing of the young unmarried Dutch women:—"A la verité ou ne trouve pas à redire à la galanterie des filles, qu'on leur laisse employer bonnement comme une aide innocente à se procurer des epoux." That is, it is certain, young maids are not censured for granting the last favour, but are left to use it honestly, as an innocent means to procure themselves husbands. But first he makes it very rare that they are afterwards left by their lovers.

although his stay in this country might not be long enough to see the end of the prosecution, or, by leave of absence, he might get away to England, yet the process being carried on from a kirk session to a presbytery, and thence to a synod, and from them to the general assembly, which is the *dernier ressort* in these cases; yet from thence the crime and contempt may be represented above; and how could any particular person expect to be upheld in the continuance of his employment, against so considerable a body as a national clergy, in transgression against the laws of the country, with a contempt of that authority by which those laws are supported? I mention this, because I have heard several make a jest of the kirk's authority.

When a woman has undergone the penance, with an appearance of repentance, she has wiped off the scandal among all the godly; and a female servant, in that regenerated state, is as well received into one of those families as if she had never given a proof of her frailty.

There is one kind of severity of the kirk which I cannot but think very extraordinary; and that is, the shameful punishment by penance* for *ante-nuptial* fornication, as they call

* When the disastrous and bloody struggle of Scotish reformation was over, all that escaped the wreck of original genius and peculiar cast of character, was "the stool of repentance."—This

it;* for the greatest part of male transgressors that way, when they have gratified their curiosity, entertain a quite different opinion of the former object of their desire from what they had while she retained her innocence, and regard her with contempt if not with hatred. And therefore one might think it a kind of virtue, at least honesty, in the man who afterwards makes the only reparation he can for the injury done, by marrying the woman he has otherwise brought to infamy. Now may not this

stool of terror was fashioned like an arm-chair, and was raised on a pedestal nearly two feet higher than the other seats, directly fronting the pulpit. When the kirk bell was rung, the culprit ascended the chair, and the bell-man arrayed him in the black sackcloth gown. Here he stood three Sundays successively, his face uncovered, and the awful scourge hung over him,

"A fixed figure for the hand of scorn
To point his slow unmoving finger at."

Cromek's Remains, 266.

* Not long since, in a certain parish in Ayrshire, a serious, sober citizen, in good circumstances, had the misfortune to have his first child born within six months after marriage. The Dr. was *powerful in rebuke*, and consequently fond of it. No composition would be admitted. In vain the poor culprit protested that he could not marry *publicly* sooner; she was his wife in the sight of God, and he implored that she might not be put to shame in the sight of her neighbours. The Dr. was inexorable; they had no alternative but *satisfaction* or excommunication; so they mounted the stool. The Dr. commenced with a tremendous tirade against the monstrous, horrible, and damnable abomination of

public shame deter many from making that honest satisfaction? But the great offence is against the office, which formerly here was the prerogative of the civil magistrate as well as the minister, till the former was jostled out of it by clamour.

There happened, a very few years ago, a fatal instance of the change of opinion above-mentioned:—

A young gentleman (if he may deserve the

ante-nuptial fornication. The poor man, who had never heard such a portentous word before, imagining, from the doctor's fury, that it meant something extraordinary and unnatural, in great agitation, cried out, "Hoot! hoot awa, Sir—haud! haud! No sae bad as that neither—not *ante-nuptial*—nothing of the kind Sir; indeed you've been misinformed;—it was only just *fornie*, Sir,—plain *fornie*, so help me—!" The mirth which this unexpected rejoinder excited in the congregation, gave a lesson to the clergyman not to be rash in bringing such a subject before them afterwards. It is now only in what is called the *west country* (which the readers of Burns are pretty well acquainted with) that the *cutty-stool* is in any degree of vogue. In many country places, the clergy cannot get rid of the penance altogether; but the culprits stand up in their private seat, or wherever they please, and it is merely announced to the congregation, as transiently as possible, that they stand, &c. for the first, second, or third, time.

Of the *trouncers*, it is remarked every where, that they have wonderful success in cutting out work for themselves; the more they do, the more they have to do; like travelling tinkers, w o mend one old hole in a kettle and make three new ones.

title) made his addresses to the only daughter of a considerable merchant in a city of the Lowlands; and one evening as the young people were alone together, being supposed to be just upon the eve of marriage, and the young woman's father and mother in the next room, which was separated only by a slight partition, the eager spark made his villanous attempt with oaths and imprecations, and using the common plea, that they were already man and wife before God, and promising the ceremony should be performed the next day, and perhaps he meant it at that instant. By these means he put the poor girl under a dilemma, either to give herself up, or, by resisting the violence, to expose her lover to the fury of her parents. Thus she was—what shall I say?— one must not say undone, for fear of a joke, though not from you. And as that kind of conquest, once obtained, renders the vanquished a slave to her conqueror, the wedding was delayed, and she soon found herself with child. At length the time came when she was delivered, and in that feeble state she begged she might only speak to her deceiver; who, with great difficulty, was prevailed with to see her. But when she put him in mind of the circumstances she was in when he brought her to ruin, he, in a careless, indolent manner, told her she was as willing as

himself; upon which she cried out, "Villain, you know yourself to be a liar!" and immediatly jumped out of bed, and dropped down dead upon the floor.

But I must go a little further, to do justice to the young gentlemen of that town and the neighbourhood of it; for as soon as the melancholy catastrophe was known, they declared to all the keepers of taverns and coffee-houses where they came, that if ever they entertained that fellow they would never after enter their doors.

Thus, in a very little time, he was deprived of all society, and obliged to quit the country.

I am afraid your smart ones in London would have called this act of barbarity only a piece of gallantry, and the betrayer would have been as well received among them as ever before.

I know I should be laughed at by the libertines, for talking thus gravely upon this subject, if my letter were to fall into their hands. But it is not in their power, by a sneer, to alter the nature of justice, honour, or honesty, for they will always be the same.

What I have said is only for repairing the effect of violence, deceit, and perjury; and of this, every one is a conscious judge of himself.

If any one be brought before a presbytery,* &c. to be questioned for *sculduddery*, *i. e.* fornication or adultery, and shows a neglect of their authority, the offender is not only brought to punishment by their means, but will be avoided by his friends, acquaintance, and all that know him and his circumstance in that respect.

I remember a particular instance in Edinburgh, where the thing was carried to an extraordinary height.

A married footman was accused of adultery with one of the wenches in the same family where he served; and, before a kirk session, was required to confess, for nothing less will satisfy; but he persisted in a denial of the fact.

This contempt of the clergy and lay elders, or, as they say, of the kirk, excited against him so much the resentment and horror of the or-

* Every parish in the Western Isles has a church judicature, called the consistory, or kirk session, where the minister presides, and a competent number of laymen, called elders, meet with him. They take cognizance of scandals, censure faulty persons, and with that strictness as to give an oath to those who are suspected of adultery, or fornication, for which they are to be proceeded against according to the customs of the country. They meet after divine service; the chief director of the parish is present to concur with them, and enforce their acts by his authority, which is irresistible within the bounds of his jurisdiction.

Martyn's Western Islands, 126.

dinary people (who looked upon him as in a state of damnation while the anathema hung over his head), that none of them would drink at the house where his wife kept a *change*.

Thus the poor woman was punished for the obstinacy of her husband, notwithstanding she was innocent, and had been wronged the other way.*

I was told in Edinburgh that a certain Scots colonel, being convicted of adultery (as being a married man), and refusing to compound, he was sentenced to stand in a hair cloth at the kirk door every Sunday morning for a whole year, and to this he submitted.

At the beginning of his penance he concealed his face as much as he could, but three or four young lasses passing by him, one of them stooped down, and cried out to her companions, "Lord! it's Colonel ——." Upon which he suddenly threw aside his disguise, and said, "Miss, you are right; and if you will be the subject of it, I will wear this coat another twelvemonth."

Some young fellows of fortune have made slight of the stool of repentance, being attended by others of their age and circumstances of life, who, to keep them in countenance, stand with

* This, however, was making "partial evil universal good."

them in the same gallery or pew fronting the pulpit; so that many of the spectators, strangers especially, cannot distinguish the culprit from the rest. Here is a long extemporary reproof and admonition, as I said before, which often creates mirth among some of the congregation.

This contempt of the punishment has occasioned, and more especially of late years, a composition in money with these young rakes, and the kirk treasurer gives regular receipts and discharges for such and such fornications.

As I have already told you how much the ministers are revered, especially by the commonalty, you will readily conclude the mob are at their devotion upon the least hint given for that purpose; of which there are many riotous instances, particularly at the opening of the playhouse in Edinburgh, to which the clergy were very averse, and left no stone unturned to prevent it.

I do not, indeed, remember there was much disturbance at the institution of the ball or assembly, because that meeting is chiefly composed of people of distinction; and none are admitted but such as have at least a just title to gentility, except strangers of good appearance. And if by chance any others intrude they are expelled upon the spot, by order of

the *directrice*, or governess, who is a woman of quality.—I say, it is not in my memory there was any riot at the first of these meetings; but some of the ministers published their warnings and admonitions against promiscuous dancing; and in one of their printed papers, which was cried about the streets, it was said that the devils are particularly busy upon such occasions. And Asmodeus was pitched upon as the most dangerous of all in exciting to carnality. In both these cases, viz. the playhouse and the assembly, the ministers lost ground to their great mortification; for the most part of the ladies turned rebels to their remonstrances, notwithstanding the frightful danger.

I think I never saw so many pretty women of distinction together as at that assembly, and therefore it is no wonder that those who know the artful insinuations of that fleshly spirit should be jealous of so much beauty.

But I have not done with my kirk treasurer:—this in Edinburgh is thought a profitable employment.

I have heard of one of them (severe enough upon others) who, having a round sum of money in his keeping, the property of the kirk, marched off with the cash, and took his neighbour's wife along with him to bear him company and partake of the spoil.

There are some rugged hills about the skirts of that city, which, by their hollows and windings, may serve as screens from incurious eyes; but there are sets of fellows, enemies to love and lovers of profit, who make it a part of their business, when they see two persons of different sexes walk out to take the air, to dog them about from place to place, and observe their motions, while they themselves are concealed. And if they happen to see any kind of freedom between them, or perhaps none at all, they march up to them and demand the *bulling-siller** (alluding to the money usually given for the use of a bull); and if they have not something given them (which to do would be a tacit confession), they, very likely, go and inform the kirk treasurer of what perhaps they never saw, who certainly makes the man a visit the next morning. And as he (the treasurer), like our informing justices formerly, encourages these wretches, people lie at the mercy of villains who would perhaps forswear themselves for six-pence a-piece.

* This tax in England is called *socket;* a venerable old Latino-Saxon law term, not to be found in Sir Henry Spelman. It means the acknowledgment given by a tenant to his landlord, on the occasion of putting the *sock*, or ploughshare, in new ground. At Oxford, where a *proctor* is as terrible as a *kirk treasurer*, it is levied with great rigour from *freshmen* and under graduates.

The same fellows, or such like, are peeping about the streets of Edinburgh in the night-time, to see who and who are together; and sometimes affront a brother and sister, or a man and his wife.

I have known the town-guard, a band of men armed and clothed in uniforms like soldiers, to beset a house for a whole night, upon an information that a man and a woman went in there, though in the day time. In short, one would think there was no sin, according to them, but fornication, or other virtue besides keeping the sabbath.

People would startle more at the humming or whistling part of a tune on a Sunday, than if any body should tell them you had ruined a family.

I thought I had finished my letter; but stepping to the window, I saw the people crowding out of the kirk from morning service; and the bell begins to ring, as if they were to face about and return. And now I am sitting down again to add a few words on that subject;—but you have perceived that such occasional additions have been pretty common in the course of this prattle.

This bell is a warning to those who are going out, that they must soon return; and a notice to such as are at home, that the afternoon service is speedily to begin. They have a bell in most

of the Lowland kirks; and as the Presbyterians and other sectaries in England are not allowed to be convened by that sound (of their own), so neither are those of the episcopal church in Scotland. But I need not tell you, that every where the reigning church will be paramount, and keep all other communities under. The people, in the short interval between the times of service, walk about in the church-yard, the neighbouring fields, or step home and eat an egg or some little ready-dressed morsel, and then go back to their devotions. But they fare better in the evening; which has given rise to a common saying in Scotland, viz. "If you would live well on the sabbath, you must eat an episcopal dinner and a presbyterian supper." By this it should seem, that the Episcopalians here provide a dinner, as in England;—I say it seems so, for I never was at one of their meetings, or dined with any of them at their houses on a Sunday.

I have just now taken notice that each church has but one bell; which leads me to acquaint you, that on a joy-day, as the king's birth-day, &c. (we will suppose in Edinburgh, where there are nine churches), the bells are all rung at a time, and almost all of them within hearing. This causes a most disagreeable jangling, by their often clashing one with another. And thus their joy is expressed by the same means as

our sorrow would be for the death of a good king.

But their music bells (as they call them) are very entertaining, and a disgrace to our clock-work chimes.

They are played at the hours of exchange, that is, from eleven to twelve, upon keys like an organ or harpsichord; only, as the force in this case must be greater than upon those instruments, the musician has a small cushion to each hand, to save them from bruising.

He plays Scots, English, Irish, and Italian tunes to great perfection, and is heard all over the city. This he performs every week-day, and, I am told, receives from the town, for this service, a salary of fifty pounds a-year.

LETTER X.

I AM now to acquaint you that I have not at this time sufficient provision for your usual repast. But, by the way, I cannot help accusing myself of some arrogance, in using such a metaphor; because your ordinary fare has been little else beside *brochan, cale, stirabout, sowings*, &c. (oat-meal varied in several shapes): but, that you may be provided with something, I am now about to give you a *haggass*, which would be yet less agreeable, were it not to be a little seasoned with variety.

The day before yesterday, an occasion called me to make a progress of about six or seven miles among the mountains; but before I set out, I was told the way was dangerous to strangers, who might lose themselves in the hills if they had not a conductor. For this reason, about two miles from hence, I hired a guide, and agreed with him for six-pence to attend me the whole day. This poor man went barefoot, sometimes by my horse's side, and in dangerous places leading him by the bridle, winding about

from side to side among the rocks, to such gaps where the horses could raise their feet high enough to mount the stones, or stride over them.

In this tedious passage, in order to divert myself (having an interpreter with me), I asked my guide a great many questions relating to the Highlands, all which he answered very properly.

In his turn, he told me, by way of question, to hear what I would say, that he believed there would be no war; but I did not understand his meaning till I was told. By *war* he meant *rebellion;* and then, with a dismal countenance, he said he was by trade a weaver, and that in the year 1715, the *seidir roy*, or red soldiers, as they call them (to distinguish them from the Highland companies, whom they call *seidir dou*, or the black soldiers)—I say he told me, that they burnt his house and his loom, and he had never been in a condition since that time to purchase materials for his work, otherwise he had not needed to be a guide; and he thought his case very hard, because he had not been in the *affair*, or the *scrape*, as they call it all over Scotland, being cautious of using the word Rebellion. But this last declaration of his, I did not so much depend on.

When he had finished his story, which, by interpreting, took up a good deal of time, I re-

counted to him the fable of the pigeon's fate that happened to be among the jackdaws, at which he laughed heartily, notwithstanding his late grief for his loss; and doubtless the fable was to him entirely new.

I then asked his reason why he thought there would not be another war (as he called it); and his answer was, he believed the English did not expect one, because they were *fooling* away their money, in removing great stones and blowing up of rocks.

Here he spoke his grievance as a guide; and indeed, when the roads are finished according to the plan proposed, there will be but little occasion for those people, except such as can speak English, and may by some be thought necessary for interpreters in their journeys:—I say they will be useless as guides alone, reckoning from the south of Scotland to this town the mountain way (for along the coast hither, the road can hardly be mistaken), and counting again from the Lowlands to the west end of the opening among the mountains that run from hence quite across the island.

But all the Highlands north of this town and the said opening will remain as rugged and dangerous as ever.

At length I arrived at the spot, of which I was

to take a view, and found it most horrible; but in the way that I went, being the shortest cut going southward, it is not to be avoided.

This is a deep, narrow hollow, between very steep mountains, into which huge parts of rocks have fallen. It is a terrifying sight to those who are not accustomed to such views; and at bottom is a small but dangerous burn, running wildly among the rocks, especially in times of rain. You descend by a declivity in the face of the mountain, from whence the rocks have parted (for they have visibly their decay), and the rivulet is particularly dangerous, when the passenger is going along with the stream, and pursued by the torrent. But you have not far to go in this bottom before you leave the current, which pursues its way, in continued windings, among the feet of the mountains; and soon after you ascend by a steep and rocky hill, and when the height is attained, you would think the most rugged ways you could possibly conceive to be a happy variety.

When I had returned to the hut where I took my guide, being pleased with the fellow's good humour, and frankness in answering my questions, instead of six-pence I gave him a shilling. At first he could not trust his own eyes, or thought I was mistaken; but being told what it was, and that it was all his own, he fell on his

knees and cried out, he never, in all his life before, knew any body give more than they bargained for. This done, he ran into his hut, and brought out four children almost naked, to show them to me, with a prayer for the English.* Thus I had, for so small a price as one sixpence, the exquisite pleasure of making a poor creature happy for a time.

Upon my Highlander's lamentation of his loss and present bad circumstances, I could not forbear to reflect and moralize a little, concluding, that ruin is ruin, as much to the poor as to those that had been rich.

Here's a poor Highlandman (whose house,

* That this poor rogue of a Highlander should be astonished at receiving a benevolence of any kind from an English *seidir roy*, is not at all to be wondered at, any more than that he should wish his four naked children also to get something extraordinary. That he had not been out in 1715 is very probable. He was evidently no hero, or he would never have been a weaver.—The labours of the loom have been in all countries, at one time or other, confined entirely to the female sex, and consequently considered as in the highest degree degrading to a *man*. The machine at present in use for weaving is inconvenient and unfavourable to the female form, and at some times dangerous; yet, even now, much of the weaving in the Highlands is done by women; a *man weaver* seldom establishes himself among his kindred; and his profession is ranked lower than even that of a tailor. The weaver here mentioned had evidently *lost his caste*, otherwise the kindness of his clan and kindred would have enabled him to procure the implements of his trade in less than

loom, and all his other effects were, it is likely, not worth thirty shillings) as effectually undone, by the loss he sustained, as one that had been in the possession of thousands; and the burning of one of their huts, which does not cost fifteen shillings in building, is much worse to them than the loss of a palace by fire is to the owner. And were it not for their fond attachment to their chiefs, and the advantage those gentlemen take of their slave-like notions of patriarchal power, I verily believe there are but few among them that would engage in an enterprize so dangerous to them as rebellion; and as some proof of this, I have been told by several people of this town, that in the year 1715,

from ten to fifteen years. His feelings as a *guide* were very natural. About four years ago, the present writer met, on the top of Ben Lomond, an old Highlander, who said he had been a guide from the *north side* of the mountain for upwards of forty years; "but that d—d Walter Scott, that every body makes such a work about," exclaimed he with vehemence; "I wish I had him to ferry over *Loch Lomond*, I should be after sinking the boat, if I drowned myself into the bargain; for ever since he wrote his 'Lady of the Lake,' as they call it, every body goes to see that filthy hole Loch Catrine, then comes round by Luss, and I have had only two gentlemen to guide all this blessed season, which is now at an end. I shall never see the top of Ben Lomond again!—The d—l confound his ladies and his lakes, say I!" This guide had in every respect the exact appearance which I had always imagined of RED MURDOCH, in the Lady of the Lake.

the then earl of Mar continued here for near two months together before he could muster two hundred Highlanders, so unwilling were these poor people to leave their little houses and their families to go a king-making.*

But when a number sufficient for his present purpose had been corrupted by rewards and promises, he sent them out in parties from hut to hut, threatening destruction to such as refused to join with them.

But it may be necessary to let you know that these men, of whom I have been speaking, were not such as were immediataly under the eye of their respective chiefs, but scattered in little dwellings about the skirts of the mountains.

* He waited till the clans should take the field. The unexpected death of Queen Anne, and the harsh and impolitic measures adopted against the ejected Tory ministry, had disconcerted all the schemes of the Jacobites, who were altogether unprepared for an insurrection. The earl of Mar was a mere disappointed placeman, with no better principle than his discontent to recommend him to the confidence of a warlike and adventurous people; yet, in little more than the time here specified, he was able to take the field at the head of an army of 10,000 men, which was a proof that they were at all times much too forward to engage in such enterprizes. Distinguished as they have always been by their attachment to "their little houses and their families," that very attachment was their chief incentive to hazardous undertakings; for their's were no homes blessed with plenty and peace, where

Here follows the copy of a Highlander's letter, which has been lately handed about this town, as a kind of curiosity.

When I first saw it, I suspected it to be suppositious, and calculated as a *lure,* whereby to entice some Highlanders to the colony from whence it was supposed to be written; but I was afterwards assured, by a very credible person, that he knew it to be genuine.

Endorsed—Letter from Donald M^c^Pherson a young Highland lad, who was sent to Virginia with Captain Toline, and was born near the house of Culloden where his father lives.

they could sit at ease, "every man under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree." And here there was a more generous sentiment connected with their rising, which was much too honourable to their characters to be branded with the stigma of *rebellion;—commiseration for their unfortunate chief* (for in this light they viewed King James), driven from his throne and his country, and his place filled by a stranger, who had, with scorn and reproach, rejected their offers of acquiescence, and, by so doing, put them in a state of proscription. This glaring indication of hatred, defiance, and unrelenting persecution in the new government, was sufficient to account for their taking arms, independent of their attachment to a family which, during the three reigns preceding the abdication, had shown them peculiar favour, and for which they had so often fought and bled.

Portobago in *Marilante*, 2 *June* 17—.

Teer Lofen Kynt Fater.

Dis is te lat ye ken, dat I am in quid healt, plessed be Got for dat, houpin te here de lyk frae yu, as I am yer nane sin, I wad a bine ill leart gin I had na latten yu ken tis, be kaptin Rogirs skep dat geangs to Innerness, per cunnan I dinna ket sika anither apertunti dis towmen agen. De skep dat I kam in was a lang tym o de see cumin oure heir, but plissit pi Got for à ting wi à kepit our heels unco weel, pat Shonie Magwillivray dat hat ay a sair heet. Dere was saxty o's à kame inte te quintry hel a lit an lim an nane o's à dyit pat Shonie Magwillivray an an otter Ross lad dat kam oure wi's an mai pi dem twa wad a dyit gin tey hed bitten at hame.

Pi mi fait I kanna komplin for kumin te dis quintry, for mestir Nicols, Lort pliss hem, pat mi till a pra mestir, dey ca him Shon Bayne, an hi lifes in Marylant in te rifer Potomak, he nifer gart mi wark ony ting pat fat I lykit mi sel: de meast o à mi wark is waterin a pra stennt hors, an pringin wyn an pread ut o de seller te mi mestir's tebil.

Sin efer I kam til him I nefer wantit a pottle o petter ele nor is in à Shon Glass hous, for I ay set toun wi de pairns te dennir.

Mi mestir seys til mi, fan I can speek lyk de fouk hier dat I sanna pe pidden di nating pat gar his plackimors wurk, for de *fyt fouk* dinna ise te wurk pat te first yeer aftir dey kum in te de quintry. Tey speek à lyk de sogers in Innerness.

Lofen fater, fan de sarvants hier he deen wi der mestirs, dey grou unco rich, an its ne wonter for day mak a hantil o tombako; an des sivites an apels an de sheries an de pires grou in de wuds wantin tyks apout dem. De swynes te ducks an durkies geangs en de wuds wantin mestirs.

De tombako grous shust lyk de dockins en de bak o de lairts yart an de skeps dey cum fra ilka place an bys dem an gies a hantel o silder an gier for dem.

Mi nane mestir kam til de quintry a sarfant an weil I wot hi's nou wort mony a susan punt. Fait ye mey pelive mi de pirest plantir hire lifes amost as weil as de lairt o Collottin. Mai pi fan mi tim is ut I wel kom hem an sie yu pat not for de furst nor de neest yeir till I gater somting o mi nane, for fan I ha dun wi mi mestir, hi maun gi mi a plantashon to set mi up, its de quistium hier in dis quintry; an syn I houp to gar yu trink wyn insteat o tippeni in Innerness.

I wis I hat kum our hier twa or tri yiers seener nor I dit, syn I wad ha kum de seener hame, pat Got bi tanket dat I kam sa seen as I dit.

Gin yu koud sen mi owr be ony o yur Innerness skeps, ony ting te mi, an it war as muckle clays as mak a quelt it wad, mey pi, gar my meister tink te mere o mi. It's trw I ket clays eneu fe him bat oni ting fe yu wad luck weel an pony, an ant plese Got gin I life, I sal pey yu pack agen.

Lofen fater, de man dat vryts dis letir for mi is van Shams Macheyne, hi lifes shust a myl fe mi, hi hes pin unko kyn te mi sin efer I kam te de quintrie. Hi wes porn en Petic an kam our a sarfant fe Klesgou an hes peen hes nane man twa yeirs, an has sax plackimors wurkin til hem alrety makin tombako ilka tay. Heil win hem, shortly an à te geir dat he hes wun hier an py a LERTS KIP at hem. Luck dat yu duina forket te vryt til mi ay, fan yu ket ony ocashion.

Got Almichte pliss you Fater an a de leve o de hous, for I hana forkoten nane o yu, nor dinna yu forket mi, for plise Got I sal kum hem wi gier eneuch te di yu à an mi nane sel guid.

I weit you will be very vokie, fan yu sii yur nane sins fesh agen, for I heive leirt a

hantle hevens sin I sau yu an I am unco buick leirt.

A tis is fe yur lofen an Opetient Sin,

TONAL MACKAFERSON.

Directed—For Shames Mackaferson neir te Lairt o Collottin's hous, neir Innerness en de Nort o Skotlan.*

This letter is a notable instance of those extravagant hopes that often attend a new condition. Yet Donald, notwithstanding all his happiness, desires his father to send him some clothes; not that he wants, or shall want them, but that they would look *bonny*, and recommend him to his master. But I shall not further anticipate that difficulty, which I know will not be unpleasing to you.

If you should think poor Donald's sentiments of his change to be worth your notice, and at the same time find yourself at a loss to make out any part of his letter, your friend Sir Alex-

* This *jeu-d'esprit* has a good deal of humour in it. It is written in the dialect which is spoken on the borders of Murray and Banffshire, the spelling being adapted to the pronunciation of such Highlanders as speak broken English. But it is evidently written by one who did not understand Gaëlic; there is not a single idiom of that language in it, and the orthography is much too nicely adjusted to be genuine, although the hint may have been taken from an original letter.

ander, who is very communicative, will be pleased with the office of your interpreter.

There is one thing I should have told you at first, which is, that where I have marked the single (a) thus (à), it must be pronounced (au), which signifies (all).

LETTER XI.

NEAR the the conclusion of my last letter but one, I happened to say a word or two concerning the Episcopalians of this country, of whom I do not remember to have known one that is not a professed Jacobite, except such as are in the army, or otherwise employed under the government, and therefore I must suppose all those who have accepted of commissions or places were in their hearts of revolutional principles before they entered into office, or that they changed for them on that occasion.

You know my true meaning; but many people in this country render the word *revolution* a very equivocal expression—nor, among many, is it free from ambiguity in the south.

Their ministers here are all nonjurors, that I know, except those of the chief baron's chapel in Edinburgh, and the Episcopal church at Aberdeen; but whether there is any qualified Episcopal minister at Glasgow, St. Andrews, &c. I do not know.*

* There were *qualified* ministers in most of the towns where

The nonjuring ministers generally lead regular lives; and it behoves them so to do, for otherwise they would be distanced by their rivals.

I saw a flagrant example of the people's disaffection to the present government in the abovementioned church of Aberdeen, where there is an organ, the only one I know of, and the service is chaunted as in our cathedrals.

Being there, one Sunday morning, with another English gentleman, when the minister came to that part of the Litany where the king is prayed for by name, the people all rose up as one, in contempt of it, and men and women set themselves about some trivial action, as taking snuff, &c. to show their dislike, and signify to each other they were all of one mind; and when the responsal should have been pronounced, though they had been loud in all that preceded, to our amazement there was not one single voice to be heard but our own, so suddenly and entirely were we dropped.

At coming out of the church we complained

there was any considerable number of Episcopalians. St. Paul's chapel in Aberdeen, here mentioned, is the only one in Scotland now upon the old footing, owing to some jealousy about patronage among the congregation, in consequence of which their children cannot have the benefit of regular and orderly confirmation. This the Bishop of London should look to.

to the minister (who, as I said before, was qualified) of this rude behaviour of his congregation, who told us he was greatly ashamed of it, and had often admonished them, at least, to behave with more decency.

The nonjuring ministers have made a kind of linsey-woolsey piece of stuff of their doctrine, by interweaving the people's civil rights with religion,* and teaching them, that it is as unchristian not to believe their notions of government as to disbelieve the Gospel. But I believe the business, in a great measure, is to procure and preserve separate congregations to themselves, in which they find their account, by inciting *state* enthusiasm, as others do *church* fanaticism, and, in return, their hearers have the secret pleasure of transgressing under the umbrage of duty.

I have often admired the zeal of a pretty well-dressed Jacobite, when I have seen her go down one of the narrow, steep *wyndes* in Edinburgh, through an accumulation of the worst kind of filth, and whip up a blind staircase almost as foul, yet with an air as *degagé*, as if she were going to meet a favourite lover in some poetic *bower:* and, indeed, the difference

* This *linsey-woolsey* was unhappily, at that time, the common wear of most of the clergy in the three kingdoms, whatever party they belonged to.

between the generality of those people and the Presbyterians, particularly the women, is visible when they come from their respective instructors, for the former appear with cheerful countenances, and the others look as if they had been just before convicted and sentenced by their gloomy teachers.

I shall now, for a while, confine myself to some customs in this town; and shall not wander, except something material starts in my way.

The evening before a wedding there is a ceremony called the *feet-washing*, when the bride-maids attend the future bride, and wash her feet.*

They have a penny-wedding;—that is, when a servant-maid has served faithfully, and gained the good-will of her master and mistress, they invite their relations and friends, and there is a dinner or supper on the day the servant is married, and music and dancing follow to complete the evening.

* Next morning the matrons attend her *up-rising*, and have a merry-making at the ceremony of the *curch-putting-on*, or adorning her for the first time (if she has preserved her maiden honours till marriage) with the *curch*, or *close cap*, as she can no longer wear the *snood*, or maiden tyre. This very ancient usage is still common all over the north of Europe.—See *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*, &c. p. 354.

The bride must go about the room and kiss every man in the company, and in the end every body puts money into a dish, according to their inclination and ability. By this means a family in good circumstances, and respected by those they invite, have procured for the new couple wherewithal to begin the world pretty comfortably for people of their low condition. But I should have told you, that the whole expence of the feast and fiddlers is paid out of the contributions. This and the former are likewise customs all over the Lowlands of Scotland.

I never was present at one of their weddings, nor have I heard of any thing extraordinary in that ceremony, only they do not use the ring in marriage, as in England. But it is a most comical farce to see an ordinary bride conducted to church by two men, who take her under the arms, and hurry the poor unwilling creature along the streets, as you may have seen a pickpocket dragged to a horse-pond in London. I have somewhere read of a kind of force, of old, put upon virgins in the article of marriage, in some eastern country, where the practice was introduced to conquer their modesty; but I think, in this age and nation, there is little occasion for any such violence; and, perhaps, with reverence to antiquity, though it often reproaches our times, it was then only used to save appearances.

The moment a child is born, in these northern parts, it is immerged in cold water,* be the season of the year never so rigorous. When I seemed at first a little shocked at the mention of this strange extreme, the good women told me the midwives would not forego that practice if my wife, though a stranger, had a child born in this country.

At the christening, the husband holds up the child before the pulpit, from whence the minister gives him a long extemporary admonition concerning its education. In most places the infant's being brought to the church is not to be dispensed with, though it be in never so weak a condition; but here, as I said before, they are not so scrupulous in that and some other particulars.

For inviting people to ordinary buryings, in all parts of the Low-country as well as here, a

* The cold bath was so much in esteem by the ancient Highlanders, that as soon as an infant was born he was plunged into a running stream, and wrapped carefully in a blanket; and soon after he was made to swallow a small quantity of fresh butter, in order to accelerate the removal of the meconium. When an infant was christened, in order to counteract the power of evil spirits, witches, &c. he was put in a basket, with bread and cheese, wrapped up in a linen cloth, and thus the basket and its contents were handed across the fire, or supended on the pot-crook that hung from the joist over the fire-place.—*Campbell's Journey*, vol. i. 260.

man goes about with a bell, and, when he comes to one of his stations (suppose the deceased was a man), he cries, "All brethren and sisters, I let you to wot, that there is a brother departed this life, at the pleasure of Almighty God; they called him, &c.—he lived at, &c."—And so for a woman, with the necessary alterations. The corpse is carried, not upon men's shoulders, as in England, but underhand upon a bier; and the nearest relation to the deceased carries the head, the next of kin on his right hand, &c. and, if the church-yard be any thing distant, they are relieved by others as occasion may require. The men go two and two before the bier, and the women, in the same order, follow after it; and all the way the bellman goes tinkling before the procession, as is done before the host in popish countries.

Not long ago a Highlandman was buried here. There were few in the procession besides Highlanders in their usual garb; and all the way before them a piper played on his bagpipe, which was hung with narrow streamers of black crape.

When people of some circumstance are to be buried, the nearest relation sends printed letters signed by himself, and sometimes, but rarely, the invitation has been general, and made by beat of drum.

The friends of the deceased usually meet at the house of mourning the day before the funeral, where they sit a good while, like quakers at a silent meeting, in dumb show of sorrow; but in time the bottle is introduced, and the ceremony quite reversed.

It is esteemed very slighting, and scarcely ever to be forgiven, not to attend after invitation, if you are in health; the only means to escape resentment is to send a letter, in answer, with some reasonable excuse.

The company, which is always numerous, meets in the street at the door of the deceased; and when a proper number of them are assembled, some of those among them, who are of highest rank or most esteemed, and strangers, are the first invited to walk into a room, where there usually are several pyramids of plum-cake, sweetmeats, and several dishes, with pipes and tobacco; the last is according to an old custom, for it is very rare to see any body smoke in Scotland.

The nearest relations and friends of the person to be interred attend, and, like waiters, serve you with wine for about a quarter of an hour; and no sooner have you accepted of one glass but another is at your elbow, and so a third, &c. There is no excuse to be made for not drinking, for then it will be said, "You have obliged my

brother, or my cousin such-a-one; pray, Sir, what have I done to be refused?" When the usual time is expired, this detachment goes out and another succeeds; and when all have had their *tour*, they accompany the corpse to the grave, which they generally do about noon.

The minister, who is always invited, performs no kind of funeral service for those of any rank whatever, but most commonly is one of the last that leaves the place of burial.

When the company are about to return, a part of them are selected to go back to the house, where all sorrow seems to be immediately banished, and the wine is filled about as fast as it can go round, till there is hardly a sober person among them. And, by the way, I have been often told, that some have kept their friends drinking upon this occasion for more days together than I can venture to mention.

In the conclusion, some of the sweetmeats are put into your hat, or thrust into your pocket, which enables you to make a great compliment to the women of your acquaintance.

This last homage they call the *drudgy;* but I suppose they mean the *dirge*—that is, a service performed for a dead person some time after his death;* or this may be instead of a lamentation sung at the funeral; but I am sure it has

* One of the Antiphones of the *Requiem* was "*Dirige* nos, Domine."

no sadness attending it, except it be for an aching head the next morning. The day following, every one that has black puts it on, and wears it for some time afterwards; and if the deceased was any thing considerable, though the mourner's relation to him was never so remote, it serves to soothe the vanity of some, by inciting the question, "For whom do you mourn?"—"My cousin, the laird of such-a-place," or "My Lord such-a-one," is the answer to the question begged by the sorrowful dress. I have seen the doors and gates blacked over in token of mourning.

I must confess I never was present at more than one of these funerals, though afterwards invited to several, and was pretty hard put to it to find out proper excuses; but I never failed to inquire what had passed at those assemblies, and found but little difference among them.

You know I never cared to be singular when once engaged in company, and in this case I thought it best, being a stranger, to comply with their customs, though I could not but foresee the inconvenience that was to follow so great an intimacy with the bottle.*

You will, perhaps, wonder why I have con-

* In the Lowlands, there is now nothing to be called *drinking* at funerals; but in the Highlands, where the attendants must come from a great distance, refreshment is necessary, and, as *grief is dry*, there are sometimes excesses.

tinued so long upon this subject, none of the most entertaining; but as the better sort here are almost all of them related to one another in some degree, either by consanguinity, marriage, or clanship, it is to them, as it were, a kind of business, and takes up good part of their time. In short, they take a great pride and pleasure in doing honours to their dead.

The minister or parish has no demand for christening, marrying, or burying. This last expence, particularly, I have ever thought unreasonable to be charged upon the poorer sort in England. A poor industrious man, for example, who has laboured hard for fifty years together, brought up a numerous family, and been at last reduced to necessity by his extraordinary charge, age, and long sickness, shall not be entitled to his length and breadth under the ground of that parish where he had lived, but his poor old widow must borrow or beg to pay the duties, or (which to her, perhaps, is yet worse) be forced to make her humble suit to an imperious parish officer, whose insolence to his inferiors (in fortune) was ever increasing with the success he met with in the world; besides the disgrace and contumely the poor wretch must suffer from her neighours in the alley, for that remarkable state of poverty, viz. being reduced to beg the ground. And none

more ready than the poor to reproach with their poverty any whom they have the pleasure to think yet poorer than themselves. This to her may be as real distress as any dishonour that happens to people of better condition.

Before I proceed to the Highlands (*i. e.* the mountains), I shall conduct you round this town, to see if there be any thing worth your notice in the adjacent country.

Toward the north-west, the Highlands begin to rise within a mile of the town. To some other points (I speak exclusive of the coast-way) there are from three to five or six miles of what the natives call a flat country, by comparison with the surrounding hills; but to you, who have been always accustomed to the south of England, this plain (as they deem it) would appear very rough and uneven.

I shall begin with the ruins of a fort* built by Oliver Cromwell in the year 1653 or 1654,

* The fort which was built by Cromwell is now totally demolished; for no faction of Scotland loved the name of Cromwell, or had any desire to continue his memory.—Yet what the Romans did to other nations, was in a great degree done by Cromwell to the Scots: he civilized them by conquest, and introduced, by useful violence, the arts of peace. I was told, at Aberdeen, that the people learned from Cromwell's soldiers to make shoes and to plant kail.—*Johnson's Journey*, Works, vol. viii. 234.

Neither Cromwell, nor those employed by him in Scotland, had

which, in his time, commanded the town, the mouth of the river, and part of the country on the land sides of it where there are no hills. It lies something to the north-east of us, and is washed by a navigable part of the Ness, near its issue into the Murray Frith.

The figure of the out-work is a pentagon of two hundred yards to a side, surrounded to land-

much *civilization* to spare"; and his *violence* in that country was very far from *useful.* Of the battle of Worcester he says: "Indeed it was a stiff business—a very glorious mercy—as stiff a contest as I have ever seen." The citadel was stormed, and 1,500 put to the sword by Cromwell, provoked at their resistance. Three thousand were slain on the field. Ten thousand prisoners were taken in the town, or in the pursuit next day; and when driven to London, such as survived the mortality of a crowded prison, and the want of food, *were shipped for the plantations.*—*Laing's Hist.* vol. i. p. 427.

This is only one of the many "glorious mercies" of Cromwell to the Scots; and the friends and relations of those who were the objects of such *mercies* could not be much disposed to learn any lesson, however good, from such a teacher.—The *shoe-making* is a silly story. In 1650, at the examination of a Lanarkshire witch, one of the scenes is laid in a cottager's *cale-yard*, long before Cromwell visited Scotland. Before the dissolution of the monasteries, their horticulture was as good as their climate would admit of, and much better, by comparison with their neighbours, than it is at present. Their principal clergy, having been mostly educated on the Continent, introduced into their own domains the improvements they had learnt the value of while abroad, and others followed their example.

ward with a fosse, now almost filled up with rubbish. The rampart is not unpleasant for a walk in a summer's evening, and among the grass grow carraways that have often regaled my palate, and of which the seeds are supposed to have been scattered, by accident, from time out of mind.

Oliver had 1,200 men in and near this citadel, under the command of one colonel Fitz, who had been a tailor, as I have been informed by a very ancient laird, who said he remembered every remarkable passage which happened at that time, and, most especially, Oliver's colours, which were so strongly impressed on his memory, that he thought he then saw them spread out by the wind, with the word Emmanuel (God with us) upon them, in very large golden characters.

LETTER XII.

THE name of Oliver, I am told, continues still to be used in some parts, as a terror to the children of the Highlanders; but, that is so common a saying of others who have rendered themselves formidable, that I shall lay no stress upon it. He invaded the borders of the Highlands, and shut the natives up within their mountains. In several parts he penetrated far within, and made fortresses and settlements among them; and obliged the proudest and most powerful of the chiefs of clans, even such as had formerly contended with their kings, to send their sons and nearest relations as hostages for their peaceable behaviour.

But, doubtless this success was owing, in great measure, to the good understanding there was at that time between England and France; otherwise it is to be supposed that the ancient ally of Scotland, as it is called here, would have endeavoured to break those measures, by hiring and assisting the Scots to invade our borders, in order to divert the English troops from

making so great a progress in this part of the island.

Near the fort is the quay, where there are seldom more than two or three ships, and those of no great burden.

About a mile westward from the town, there rises, out of a perfect flat, a very regular hill; whether natural or artificial, I could never find by any tradition; the natives call it *tomman-heurach*. It is almost in the shape of a Thames wherry, turned keel upwards, for which reason they sometimes call it Noah's Ark.

The length of it is about four hundred yards, and the breadth at bottom about one hundred and fifty. From below, at every point of view, it seems to end at top in a narrow ridge; but when you are there, you find a plain large enough to draw up two or three battalions of men.

Hither we sometimes retire in a summer's evening, and sitting down on the heath, we beat with our hands upon the ground, and raise a most fragrant smell of wild thyme, pennyroyal, and other aromatic herbs, that grow among the heath: and as there is likewise some grass among it, the sheep are fed the first; and when they have eaten it bare, they are succeeded by goats, which browse upon the sweet herbs that are left untouched by the sheep.

I mention this purely because I have often

heard you commend the Windsor mutton, supposing its delicacy to proceed from those herbs; and, indeed, the notion is not uncommon.

But this is not the only reason why I speak of this hill; it is the weak credulity with which it is attended, that led me to this detail; for as any thing, ever so little extraordinary, may serve as a foundation (to such as are ignorant, heedless, or interested) for ridiculous stories and imaginations, so the fairies within it are innumerable, and witches find it the most convenient place for their frolics and gambols in the night-time.*

I am pleased when I reflect, that the notion of witches is pretty well worn out among people of any tolerable sense and education in England; but here it remains even among some that sit judicially; and witchcraft and *charming* (as it is called) make up a considerable article in the recorded acts of the general assembly.

* *Tomman-heurach*, like all other hills of the kind in Scotland and in Scandinavia, is full of *fairies;* but *our good neighbours*, as the Scots call them, are a nice, delicate, and sensitive people, particularly jealous of any offensive intrusion upon their favourite haunts; and where *they* have obtained their *privilege*, neither dæmon, witch, ghost, nor goblin, need be feared. The moors of Staffordshire and Derbyshire still swarm with fairies; and all that quarter of England is infested by *boggarts* of all sorts; but there is nothing systematic in the notions entertained by the country people respecting them.

I am not unaware that here the famous trial, at Hertford, for witchcraft, may be objected to me.

It is true the poor woman was brought in guilty by an ignorant, obstinate jury, but it was against the sentiments of the judge, who, when the minister of the parish declared, upon the faith of a clergyman, he believed the woman to be a witch, told him in open court, that therefore, upon the faith of a judge, he took him to be no conjuror.

Thus you see, by the example of this clergyman, that ignorance of the nature of things may be compatible with what is generally called learning; for I cannot suppose that, in a case of blood, there could be any regard had to the interest of a profession,*

* *Man is a superstitious animal;* and there are few found who are not so in one way or other: even Cromwell and Buonaparte are shrewdly suspected of having been occasionally the dupes of the quackeries by which they deceived others. During the most violent times of the French revolution, when the people were as blind and as bigotted in their impiety as ever they had been in their superstition, and all belief in spiritual agency and existence was discarded, there were in every street, lane, and ward of Paris, *cunning men* and *cunning women*, who, availing themselves of the circumstances of the time, acquired wealth by *telling fortunes;* and their predictions were too often verified, as they suggested the villanies and atrocities by which the wretches who consulted them rose from obscurity and beggary to rank and

But perhaps the above assertion may be thought a little too dogmatical;—I appeal to reason and experience.

After all, the woman was pardoned by the late queen (if any one may properly be said to be forgiven a crime they never committed), and a worthy gentleman in that county gave her an apartment over his stables, sent her victuals from his table, let her attend his children, and she was looked upon, ever after, by the family as an honest good-natured old woman.

But I shall now give an instance (in this country) wherein the judge was not so clear-sighted.

affluence. In the days of Elizabeth and James the First there was no want of *learning* in England; but the most difficult part of *learning* is *to unlearn*, and few cared to part with the delusions that had been their wonder and delight in the nursery.

In Scotland we have three distinct treatises upon this subject, written by men of an inquisitive and philosophical turn, and of undoubted learning, probity, and piety, who were, nevertheless, faithful believers in the wonders which they detail; they are exceedingly entertaining and interesting in many respects, and therefore well deserving of republication; and, as they are very scarce, we shall furnish their titles for the benefit of such as are curious in collecting such things:—

"SECRET COMMONWEALTH; or, a Treatise displaying the Chiefe Curiosities, as they are in Use among diverse of the People of Scotland to this day;—Singularities for the most part peculiar to that Nation.—A Subject not heretofore discoursed of by any of our Writers; and yet ventured on in an Essay to suppress

In the beginning of the year 1727, two poor Highland women (mother and daughter), in the shire of Sutherland, were accused of witchcraft, tried, and condemned to be burnt. This proceeding was in a court held by the deputy-sheriff. The young one made her escape out of prison, but the old woman suffered that cruel death in a pitch-barrel, in June following, at Dornoch, the head borough of that county.

In the introduction to the chapter under the title of Witchcraft, in "Nelson's Justice," which I have by me, there are these words:—"It seems plain that there are witches, because laws have been made to punish such offenders,

the impudent and growing Atheism of this Age, and to satisfie the Desire of some choice friends. By Mr. Robert Kirk, Minister at Aberfoill."——This work was probably written about 1680, and, in 1815, was printed at Edinburgh, for the first time, by Ballantyne, 4to.. Only one hundred copies were printed, and but from thirty to forty for sale.

"ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣΚΟΠΙΑ; or, a briefe Discourse concerning the *Second Sight*, commonly so called. By the Reverend Mr. John Frazer, late minister of *Teree* and *Coll*, and Dean of the Isles; published by Mr. Andrew Symson, with a short account of the Author. Edinburgh, 1707." In 8vo.

"A Treatise on the Second Sight, Dreams, Apparitions, &c. By Theophilus Insulanus." 8vo. Edinburgh, 1763.—A great part of this last tract is reprinted along with Kirk's Treatise; and the three together would make a very curious volume.

though few have been convicted of witchcraft." Then he quotes one single statute, viz. 1 Jac. c. 12.

May not any one say, with just as much reason, it seems plain there has been a phœnix, because poets have often made it serve for a simile in their writings, and painters have given us the representation of such a bird in their pictures?

It is said those Highland women confessed: but, as it is here a maxim that wizards and witches will never acknowledge their guilt so long as they can get any thing to drink, I should not wonder if they owned themselves to be devils, for ease of so tormenting a necessity, when their vitals were ready to crack with thirst.*

I am almost ashamed to ask seriously how it comes to pass that in populous cities, among

* Almost all who have been executed in Scotland for this alleged crime have confessed, and their confessions are remarkably uniform, particularly as to their carnal dealings with the devil. This is not to be wondered at, as the report of the confession of one produced similar impressions upon the disturbed imagination of another, and none confessed till they were reduced to a state of delirious and bewildered imbecility. Kept without sleep, and incessantly tormented in their bodies by *prickers*, or in their minds by the clergy; excluded from all but their tormentors; believing what they had been told of others, although conscious of their

the most wicked and abandoned wretches, this art should not be discovered; and yet that so many little villages and obscure places should be nurseries for witchcraft?—But the thing is not worth speaking of, any further than that it is greatly to be wished that any such law should be annulled, which subjects the lives of human creatures to the weakness of an ignorant magistrate or jury, for a crime of which they never had the power to be guilty; and this might free them from the miseries and insults these poor wretches suffer when unhappily fallen under the imputation. In this county of Sutherland, as I have been assured, several others have undergone the same fate within the compass of no great number of years.

I must own it is possible there may be some, oppressed by poverty, and actuated by its concomitant envy, who may malign a thriving neighbour so far as to poison his cattle, or pri-

own innocence; hearing of nothing but horrors,—expecting no mercy, and with the dread of the bale-fire continually before their eyes,—when, worn out with sufferings, at last they were left alone without fire, light, or comfort, in some dungeon, kirk-steeple, or such place, there, in the state of partial derangement to which they were reduced, there can be no doubt that they *dreamt* of the pitiable absurdities which they afterwards believed to be true, confessed, and were burnt for, while their nearest relatives dared not, even to themselves, complain of the wrong.

vately do him other hurt in his property, for which they may deserve the gallows as much as if they did the mischief by some supernatural means; but for such wicked practices, when discovered, the law is open, and they are liable to be punished according to the quality of the offence.

Witchcraft, if there were such a crime, I think would be of a nature never to be proved by honest witnesses: for who could testify they saw the identical person of such a one riding in the dark upon a broomstick through the air;—a human body, composed of flesh and bones, crammed through a key hole;—or know an old woman through the disguise of a cat? These are some of the common topics of your wise witchmongers!

But to be more serious: we have reason to conclude, from several authentic relation of facts, that this supposed crime has sometimes been made a political engine of power, whereby to destroy such persons as were to be *taken off*, which could not otherwise be done with any seeming appearance of justice: and who should be fitter instruments to this purpose, than such, who would be so wicked as for hire, and assurance of indemnity, to own themselves accomplices with the party accused?

Notwithstanding this subject has led me further than I at first intended to go, I must add

to it a complaint made to me about two months since, by an Englishman who is here in a government employment.

As he was observing the work of some carpenters, who were beginning the construction of a large boat, there came an old woman to get some chips, who, by his description of her, was indeed ugly enough. One of the workmen rated her, and bid her be gone, for he knew she was a witch. Upon that, this person took upon him to vindicate the old woman, and, unluckily, to drop some words as if there were none such. Immediately two of them came up to him, and held their axes near his head, with a motion as if they were about to cleave his skull, telling him he deserved death; for that he was himself a *warlock*, or wizard, which they knew by his taking the witch's part. And he, observing their ignorance and rage, got away from them as fast as he could, in a terrible fright, and with a resolution to lay aside all curiosity relating to that boat, though the men were at work not far from his lodgings.*

* These wags were not such fools as the Englishman took them for. *He* attempted to be very wise upon *their credulity*, and *they* made themselves very merry at the expence of *his*. They knew he considered them all as savages and murderers, and amused themselves with his prejudice.—Had the fellow believed the woman to be a witch, he would not have dared to rate her for it.

The greatest ornament we have in all the adjacent country, is about a quarter of a mile from the town, but not to be seen from it, by reason of the castle-hill. It is an island about six hundred yards long, surrounded by two branches of the river Ness, well planted with trees of different kinds, and may not unaptly be compared with the island in St. James's Park; all, except fruit-trees, gravel-walks, and grass-plots; for I speak chiefly of its outward appearance, the beauty whereof is much increased by the nakedness of the surrounding country and the blackness of the bordering mountains. For in any view hereabouts there is hardly another tree to be seen, except about the houses of two or three lairds, and they are but few.

Hither the magistrates conduct the judges and their attendants, when they are upon their circuit in the beginning of May; and sometimes such other gentlemen, to whom they do the honours of the corporation by presenting them with their freedom, if it happens to be in the salmon season.

The entertainment is salmon, taken out of the cruives just by, and immediately boiled and set upon a bank of turf, the seats the same, not unlike one of our country cock-pits; and during the time of eating, the heart of the fish lies upon a plate in view, and keeps in a panting motion

all the while, which to strangers is a great rarity. The cruives above the *salmon leap* (which is a steep slope composed of large loose stones) are made into many divisions by loose walls, and have about three or four feet water. These render such a number of fish as they contain an agreeable sight, being therein confined, to be ready at any time for the barrel or the table.

I am told there was formerly a fine planted avenue from the town to this island; but one of the magistrates, in his solitary walk, being shot by a Highlander from behind the trees, upon some clan quarrel, they were soon after cut down; and indeed I think such kind of walks, unless very near a house, are not the most suitable to this country: I do not mean on account of robberies, but revenge.

In several places upon the heaths, at no great distance from this town, and in other parts of the country, there are large moorstones, set up in regular circles one within another, with a good space between each round. In some of these groups there are only two such circles, in others three; and some of the stones in the outermost ring are nine or ten feet high above the surface of the ground, and in bulk proportionable.

How long time they have been in that situation nobody knows, or for what purpose they

were disposed in that order; only some pretend, by tradition, they were used as temples for sacrifice in the time of the Romans; and others have been taught, by that variable instructor, that they were tribunals for the trials of supposed criminals in a Roman army.

What matter of wonder and curiosity their size might be upon Hounslow Heath I do not know; but here, among these rocks, by comparison, they make no figure at all. Besides, the soldiers, by the force of engines and strength, have raised stones as large, or larger, that lay more than half buried under ground, in the lines marked out for the new-projected roads; and they have likewise set them upright along the sides of those ways.

Having chanced to mention the stones raised out of the ground by the troops, I cannot forbear a little tattle concerning two officers that are employed upon the new roads, as directors of the work in different parts of the Highlands; and, if you please, you may take it for a piece of Highland news, for I am sure your public papers often contain paragraphs altogether as trifling, and not so true.

Upon one of these stones (surprisingly large to be removed) one of those gentlemen employed a soldier, who is a mason by trade, to engrave an inscription of his own making, in

Latin, fearing, perhaps, his renown might wear out with our language. The substance of it is, the date of the year, time of the reign, director's name, &c.

Some little time after this was done, the other officer's party of men having raised out of the ground a stone, as he thought, yet bigger than the former, he began to envy his competitor's foundation for fame, and applied himself to a third officer (who had done several little poetical pieces) to think of some words for his stone. But I should tell you, that before he did so, it had been remarked, he had too often boasted of the exploit in the first version, viz.—"I raised a larger stone than ——," &c.

The poet-officer told him he would satisfy him off-hand, and it should be in English, which would be understood by more people than the other's Latin, and by that means he would have the advantage, of his rival, at least in that particular.

But instead of his real name, I shall insert a feigned one, and under that only disguise give you the proposed inscription as follows:

"*Hibern alone*
Rais'd up this stone;
Ah! Hone, Ah! Hone."

Upon this, the hero turned ridiculously grave; and, says he, "The soldiers did the slavish

part only with their hands, but, in effect, it was I that did it with my head: and therefore I do not like any burlesque upon my performance."

One thing, which I take to be a curiosity in its kind, had like to have escaped me, viz. a single enclosed field, nearly adjoining to the suburbs of this town, containing, as near as I can guess, about five or six acres, called Fair-field. This to the owner gives the title of laird of Fair-field, and it would be a neglect or kind of affront to call him by his proper name, but only Fair-field. For those they call lairds in Scotland do not go by their surname; but, as in France, by the name of their house, estate, or part of it. But if the lairdship be sold, the title goes along with it to the purchaser, and nothing can continue the name of it to the first possessor but mere courtesy.

There are few estates in this country free from mortgages and incumbrances (I wish I could not say the same of England); but the reason given me for it, by some gentlemen of pretty good estates, seems to be something extraordinary.

They do not care to ascribe it to the poverty of their tenants, from the inconsiderable farms they occupy, or other disadvantages incident to these parts; but say it has proceeded from the fortunes given with their daughters. Now the

portion or *tocker*, as they call it, of a laird's eldest daughter, is looked upon to be a handsome one if it amounts to one thousand merks, which is 55*l.* 11*s.* $1\frac{1}{3}$*d.* sterling; and ten thousand merks, or 555*l.* 11*s.* $1\frac{1}{3}$*d.* is generally esteemed no bad *tocker* for a daughter of the lower rank of quality.

The Scots merk is thirteen-pence and one-third of a penny of our money.

Having touched upon mortgages, which in Scotland are called *wadsetts*, I shall say a few words on that article.

By the canon law of Scotland all kind of usury is prohibited; but as the forbidding it is very incommodious to a country, on account of trade and husbandry, as well as to particular persons, and besides, a law most easily evaded; there was a method contrived by the people, whereby to sell their estates, with a conditional right of redemption. This is called a *proper wadsett*, where the mortgagee takes into possession so much land as will secure the principal and interest of the money lent, and sometimes more; for which he is never to give account, though there should be a surplus, but only to return the lands to the former proprietor when the principal sum is paid off.

LETTER XIII.

I SHALL now return to the neighbouring country. Here are but two houses of any note within many miles of us, on this side the Murray Frith; one is the house of Culloden, which I have mentioned in a former letter.

This is about two miles off, and is a pretty large fabric, built with stone, and divided into many rooms, among which the hall is very spacious.

There are good gardens belonging to it, and a noble planted avenue, of great length, that leads to the house, and a plantation of trees about it.

This house (or castle) was besieged, in the year 1715, by a body of the rebels; and the laird being absent in parliament, his lady baffled all their attempts with extraordinary courage and presence of mind.

Nearly adjoining are the parks—that is, one large tract of ground, surrounded with a low wall of loose stones, and divided into several parts by partitions of the same. The surface

of the ground is all over heath, or, as they call it, *heather*, without any trees; but some of it has been lately sown with the seed of firs, which are now grown about a foot and a half high, but are hardly to be seen for the heath.

An English captain, the afternoon of the day following his arrival here from London, desired me to ride out with him, and show him the parks of Culloden, without telling me the reason of his curiosity. Accordingly we set out, and when we were pretty near the place, he asked me,—"Where are these parks? For," says he, "there is nothing near in view but heath, and, at a distance, rocks and mountains." I pointed to the enclosure; and, being a little way before him, heard him cursing in soliloquy, which occasioned my making a halt, and asking if any thing had displeased him. Then he told me, that, at a coffee-house in London, he was one day commending the park of Studley, in Yorkshire, and those of several other gentlemen in other parts of England, when a Scots captain, who was by, cried out—"Ah, sir! but if you were to see the parks at Culloden, in Scotland!"

This my companion repeated several times with different modulations of voice; and then, in an angry manner, swore, if he had known how grossly he had been imposed on, he could not have put up with so great an affront. But I

should have told you, that every one of the small divisions above-mentioned is called a separate park, and that the reason for making some of the inner walls has been to prevent the hares, with which, as I said before, the country abounds, from cropping the tender tops of these young firs, which, indeed, effectually spoils their regular growth.

The other house I spoke of is not much further distant from the contrary side of the town, and belongs to the younger brother of the gentleman above-mentioned; he is lord-advocate, or attorney-general, for Scotland: it is a good old building, but not so large as the other; and near it there is a most romantic wood, whereof one part consists of great heights and hollows; and the brush-wood at the foot of the trees, with the springs that issue out of the sides of the hills, invite the woodcocks, which, in the season, are generally there in great numbers, and render it the best spot for cock-shooting that ever I knew. Neither of these houses are to be seen from any part near the town.

The gentleman, of whose house I have last been speaking, were it not for a valetudinary state of health, and the avocations of his office, would be as highly pleased to see his friends about him at table and over a bottle as his hospitable brother.

In the spots of arable land near the town the people sometimes plough with eight small beasts, part oxen and part cows. They do not drive them with a goad, as in England, but beat them with a long stick, making a hideous Irish noise in calling to them as they move along.

The poverty of the field labourers hereabouts isdeplorable. I was one day riding out for air and exercise, and in my way I saw a woman cutting green barley in a little plot before her hut: this induced me to turn aside and ask her what use she intended it for, and she told me it was to make bread for her family.

The grain was so green and soft that I easily pressed some of it between my fingers; so that when she had prepared it, certainly it must have been more like a poultice than what she called it, bread. There was a gentleman with me, who was my interpreter; and though he told me what the woman said, yet he did not seem greatly to approve of my curiosity.

Their harvest-labourers are often paid in kind, viz. oats or barley; and the person thus paid goes afterwards about with the sheaves, to sell them to such as will purchase them. If they are paid in money, their wages is two-pence halfpenny or three-pence a-day and their dinner, which I suppose is oatmeal.

There is no other sort of grain hereabouts,

besides oats, barley, and beer, which last is an inferior species of barley, but of greater increase. A field of wheat would be as great a rarity as a nightingale in any part of Scotland, or a cat-o'-mountain in Middlesex. And yet I have seen good wheat in some of the Lowland part of the shire of Murray; which is, indeed, but a narrow space between the sea and the mountains not very far south of us. It is true, a certain gentleman, not far from the coast, in the county of Ross, which is further north than we are, by favour of an extraordinary year, and a piece of new ground, raised some wheat; but he made so much parade of it, that the stack stood in his court-yard till the rats had almost devoured it. This, and a good melon he treated me with, which was raised under a rock facing the south, and strongly reflecting the heat of the sun, so equally flattered him, that he afterwards made use of me as a witness of both upon several occasions. But melons may be produced in Lapland.

In the Lowlands of Scotland I have seen, in many places, very fertile land, good wheat, and oats in particular, much better than ever I saw of the growth of England. But, perhaps, you will imagine that, as oatmeal serves for bread, and, in other shapes, for most part of the rest of the ordinary people's diet, they are more care-

ful in the choice of the seed than our farmers are, who know their oats are chiefly used as provender for cattle; but, I think, in some parts of the country, the soil is peculiarly adapted to that kind of grain.

In some remote parts of England I have seen bread for the field labourers, and other poor people, so black, so heavy, and so harsh, that the *bonnack*, as they call it (a thin oatmeal cake baked on a plate over the fire), may, by comparison, be called a pie-crust.*

By the small proportion the arable lands hereabouts bear to the rocky grounds and barren heaths, there is hardly a product of grain sufficient to supply the inhabitants, let the year be

* Oatmeal, although nutritive, is too heating for most stomachs; and among the labouring classes, even the most healthy, *heartburn* is a very general complaint, without their being aware of the cause of it. Our author seems not to have known, that in Wales, and a great part of the north and west of England, oatcake was very commonly eaten, as it is at this day. From the manner in which it is usually prepared in Wales, like the *jannock-bread* of Lancashire, it is coarser and less palatable than the Scotish; but in some parts of England, particularly Cheshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire, it is *leavened*, and poured out upon the *bake-stone* like a pancake. The acidity takes off its bitterness, and makes it cooling and salutary.

In the north Lowlands of Scotland, old fashioned country people still prepare against *yule time* (Christmas), loaves of leavened rye-bread (which in Murray is called *poose*), such as is generally eaten all over the North of Europe; and also leavened cakes, as

ever so favourable; and, therefore, any ill accident that happens to their growth, or harvest, produces a melancholy effect. I have known, in such a circumstance, the town in a consternation for want of oatmeal, when shipping has been retarded, and none to be procured in these parts (as we say) for love or money.

There are but few in this town that eat wheat-bread, besides the English and those that belong to them, and some of the principal inhabitants, but not their servants. Among the English, I think I may include good part of the private soldiers, that are working men.

All the handicraft tradesmen have improved their skill in their several occupations, by ex-

thin as a wafer, of soured oatmeal. This is a relique of pagan times, derived from our Scandinavian ancestors. In Scotland, the loaf is not now moulded into any particular form; but, among the Scandinavians, the *yule loaves* were emblematic of the season, with mythical and astronomical allusions. The most important figure was that of a *boar*, with gilded bristles, the emblem of *Vanur*, the Apollo of the Goths; the gilded bristles on the back being supposed to resemble the appearance of the sun rising above the horizon. The term *yule*, is originally the same as the English *wheel*, and means a *turning* (*i. e.* of the sun); the yule festival having been instituted, like the Saturnalia of the Romans, to celebrate the winter solstice, with the *turn* of the sun and the renovation of the year. As the leavened cake is considered a sort of luxury (certainly a cheap one!), it is singular that the Scotish peasantry have never thought of using it more than once in the year.

ample of the workmen among the troops, who are often employed by the inhabitants as journeymen; and in particular the bakers, whose bread, I think, is not inferior to that of London,* except when their flour is grown, or musty, when imported. This sometimes happens; but they are too national to hold any correspondence but with their countrymen, who, I think, have not the same regard for them, but study too carefully their own extraordinary profit.—I am speaking of such as have their goods from England.

This brings to my remembrance an observation I met with in London a good many years ago, and that is, what an advantage the Scots, the Quakers, and the French refugees, have over the generality of trading people in England, since they all confine the profit of their dealings, so far as ever they can, within their respective circles; and moreover have an equal chance for trading-profit with all others who make no such partial distinction; and therefore it was no wonder they throve accordingly.

* The Scots had attained great perfection in the art of baking, from the French, two centuries at least before our author's time. A baker in Scotland is corn-factor, bread-baker, biscuit-baker, and pastry-cook; which enables so many of them to succeed so well in London, as they are equally prepared for either branch that seems most promising.

I happened lately, upon a certain occasion, to mention this to an old officer in the army, who thereupon told me he had observed, through all the quarters in England, that if there were any Scots tradesmen or shopkeepers in a country town, the new-comers of that nation soon found them out, and would deal with no others, so far as they could be served or supplied by them.

This, I think, is carrying it too far, and teaching an ill lesson against themselves. And we, on the other hand, are accused of the contrary extreme, which is an unnational neglect (if I may use such an expression) of one another, when we happen to meet in foreign countries.

But to return.—When the flour is musty, they mingle seeds with the dough, to overcome the disagreeable smell and taste. This I have likewise met with in Edinburgh and other great towns of the Low-country.

About the time of one great scarcity here, the garrison of Fort William, opposite to us on the west coast, was very low in oatmeal, and the little hovel-town of Maryburgh, nearly adjoining to it, was almost destitute.

Some affairs at that time called me to the fort; and, being at the governor's house, one of the townswomen came to his lady, and besought her to use her interest that she might be spared

out of the stores, for her money, or to repay it in kind, only one peck of oatmeal to keep her children from starving; for that there was none to be sold in the town, or other food to be had whatever. The lady, who is one of the best and most agreeable of women, told her she feared her husband could not be prevailed on to part with any at that time. This she said, as knowing that kind of provision was almost exhausted, and a great number of mouths to be fed; that there was but a very precarious dependance upon the winds for a supply, and that other sea accidents might happen; but to show her good will, she gave her a shilling. The poor woman, holding up the money, first looked at that in a musing manner, then at the lady, and bursting out into tears, cried—"Madam, what must I do with this? My children cannot eat it!" And laid the shilling down upon the table in the greatest sorrow and despair. It would be too trite to remark upon the uselessness of money, when it cannot be bartered for something absolutely necessary to life. But I do assure you I was hardly ever more affected with distress than upon this occasion, for I never saw such an example of it before.*

* A gentleman residing in the Highlands related to Mr. Knox a similar occurrence, to show the wretched extremities of the people formerly during scarce seasons. "A poor farmer from a

I must not leave you in suspense. The governor, commiserating the poor woman's circumstances, spared her that small quantity; and then the passion of joy seemed more unruly in the poor creature's breast than all her grief and fear had been before.

Some few days afterwards, a ship that had lain wind-bound in the Orkneys, arrived; and upon my return hither, I found there had been a supply likewise by sea from the Low-country.

I shall make no apology for going a little out of my way to give you a short account of the fortress of Fort-William, and the town of Maryburgh that belongs to it; because, upon a like occasion, you gave me a hint in one of your letters, that such sudden starts of variety were agreeable to you.

distant part of the country appeared at his gate, with three small horses reduced to skeletons, imploring three bolls of meal for his family and neighbours, who, having exhausted their stock, had collected three guineas for this purchase. The gentleman had a few bolls left, but felt it due to his own neighbours to withhold it, and recommended the man to go to Inverness. The poor man went away greatly dejected; but in a few days appeared again, stating that neither grain nor meal could be obtained there. This account of the scarcity at Inverness rendered the gentleman still more unwilling to comply with the request. At length, however, the simple eloquence of distress prevailed with him, and he ordered the man a boll of meal as a gratuity."

Knox's View of the Brit. Empire, vol. ii. 443.

The fort is situated in Lochaber, a country which, though bordering upon the Western Ocean, yet is within the shire of Inverness. Oliver Cromwell made there a settlement, as I have said before; but the present citadel was built in the reign of King William and Queen Mary, and called after the name of the king. It was in great measure originally designed as a check upon the chief of the Camerons, a clan which, in those days, was greatly addicted to plunder, and strongly inclined to rebellion.

It stands in a most barren rocky country, and is washed on one of the faces of the fortification by a navigable arm of the sea. It is almost surrounded, on the land sides, with rivers, not far distant from it, which, though but small, are often impassable from their depth and rapidity. And lastly, it is near the foot of an exceedingly high mountain, called Ben-Nevis, of which I may have occasion to say something in some future letter, relating particularly to the High-country. The town was erected into a barony in favour of the governor of the fort for the time being, and into a borough bearing the name of Queen Mary. It was originally designed as a sutlery to the garrison in so barren a country, where little can be had for the support of the troops.

The houses were neither to be built with stone

nor brick, and are to this day composed of timber, boards, and turf. This was ordained, to the end they might the more suddenly be burnt, or otherwise destroyed, by order of the governor, to prevent any lodgment of an enemy that might annoy the fort, in case of rebellion or invasion.*

In your last letter you desire to know of me what is the qualification of fortune required of the *elector* and *elected* to a seat in parliament for a county or borough in Scotland.

This induces me to believe the baronet is either gone into Bedfordshire, or come to Edinburgh.

What you now require of me is one, among many, of those articles I have left out of my account, concluding you might have met with it in some treatise of the constitution of Scotland; for I intended, from the beginning, to give you nothing but what I suppose was no where else to be found. And now I shall endeavour to satisfy your curiosity in that point, according to the best information I have obtained.

One and the same qualification is required of a voter and a candidate for a county, which is 400*l.* Scots, or 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling per annum,

* This is the case in the suburbs of all regularly-fortified places; but as the fort is now useful only as barracks, the inhabitants of Maryburgh build with stone and lime.

according to the old rent, or as they stand rated on the king's books. These are called barons; and none others vote for the shires, except some few in the county of Sutherland, where several of the old voters, refusing to pay their quota of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Scots, or 11*s.* 1⅓*d.* sterling *per diem*, for the maintenance of their representative in time of the session, others were willing to be taxed in their stead, provided they might have the privilege of voting, which they obtained thereby, to the exclusion of the former.

The magistrates and town-council elect members to represent the boroughs, or corporation-towns; and there is neither land nor money qualification required either of the candidate or electors.

This letter brings you the conclusion of my chat, in relation to this town and the country near it, having at present exhausted my memory as well as my written remarks on that head. In my next I shall begin my account of the Highlands, which I hope will be something more grateful to your curiosity than I think the former could possibly be; but if, in my mountain-progress, any thing new and worth your notice relating to these parts should happen, either by occurrence or recollection, you may expect a separate letter by way of supplement. But what am I saying? This very moment a

thought has obtruded, which tells me, that, when I was speaking of our hunting and fowling, I did not remember to acquaint you that it is no uncommon thing, when the mountains are deep in snow, for us to see hares almost as white,* which descend into these plains for sustenance; but although we have hunted several of them for awhile, yet always without success, for they keep near the feet of the hills, and, immediately on being started, make to the heights, where the scent is lost, and they baffle all pursuit.

As white rabbits are common in England, and our ideas arise from what we know, you may think, perhaps, we have been deceived; but that cannot be, for there is not a rabbit in all the country; and besides, if there were any, we have been too near those hares at starting to be mistaken in that particular: but this is not the only thing of the kind; snow sends down from the mountains large flights of small birds, about the size of larks or something bigger, and very white, which they are not in sum-

* This remarkable phenomenon occurs commonly in the colder climates; in countries bordering on the north pole, hares, as well as most other animals, become white in winter, and are often seen in great troops of four or five hundred, running along the banks of the river Irtysh, or the Jenisa, and as white as the snow they tread on.—*Goldsmith's Animated Nature*, vol. iii. 116.

mer, any more than the mountain-hare. These have here no other name than *snow-birds*.

It should seem as if nature changed the coats of these creatures, that they might not be too easy a prey to the foxes, wild cats, eagles, and hawks, as they would be from distant views, in time of snow, if they retained in winter their natural colour: but in general nature has been provident in rendering difficult the finding of animals pleasing to mankind for food, diversion, and exercise, as you may have observed in England; the hare, the partridge, woodcock, fieldfare, &c. are all, by their clothing, in good measure suited to their respective haunts and places of concealment; and some of them, one might almost think, were sensible of the advantage, when we see them lie without motion till they they are almost trod upon, as if knowing that action would catch the eye, and, being motionless, they should continue concealed by their resembling colour.*

* Since the introduction of sheep upon the mountains this species of hare is becoming scarce; it is improperly denominated the *Alpine hare*, as it has no predilection for elevated situations, any further than as a cold climate agrees best with its temperament. In running up-hill, when pursued, it only avails itself of the advantage of its short fore-legs, as other hares do. It is found in great numbers all over the northern parts of the Russian empire, where there is not a mountain to be found. Its flesh is said by the Highlanders to be good, perhaps because it is a rarity,

I shall never entertain the least doubt of your sincere intentions in every thing; but, since I received your last letter, which relates to this prattle, I cannot but be apprehensive your favourable opinion of it proceeds less from your satisfaction than a friendly partiality to ——, &c.

at least the present writer's recollection of it disposes him to think so. In Russia they are rather larger, and their flesh more coarse and dry than that of the common hare. Rabbits abound in the Lowlands; and some of the Hebrides, where the surface is flat, and the soil dry and sandy, swarm with them. *Canna* is supposed to take its name from this circumstance. The mountains are too rocky and moist for them.

The *snow-bird*, *snow-bunting*, or *snow-fleck* (so called from the *flecked* or *speckled* appearance a flock of them lighting on the snow produces), comes from Norway; in the southern counties they do not show much white when the wings are closed; but, in the north of Europe, they become white as snow and very beautiful, as the neck of a fine cock bird shines like polished silver. They feed and roost like the lark, but will also perch upon trees, and are said to sing delightfully, which we have never heard, nor ever met with any one that had.

LETTER XIV.

In my last letter relating to this northern part of the Low-country, I promised (notwithstanding I should be engaged on the subject of the Highlands) to give you an account of any thing else that should fall out by the way, or recur to my memory; but whether this letter is to be placed to the High or Low-country I leave you to determine, and I think it is not very material.

Some time ago a Highlander was executed here for murder, and I am now about to give you some account of his education, character, and behaviour; and I flatter myself I shall do it at least as much to your satisfaction as the reverend historiographer of Newgate.

You know I have rallied you several times before now upon your bestowing, as I thought, too much attention upon that kind of narrative, viz. the session-papers and last dying speeches.

This man was by trade a smith, and dwelt near an English foundery in Glengary, which lies between this town and Fort William, of which iron-work I shall have some occasion to

speak more particularly before I conclude this letter.

The director of that work had hired a smith from England, and as it is said that kings and lovers can brook no partners, so neither could the Highlander suffer the rivalship of one of his own trade, and therefore his competitor was by him destined to die. One night he came armed to the door of the Englishman's hut with intent to kill him; but the man being, for some reason or other, apprehensive of danger, had fastened the door of his hovel more firmly than usual, and, while the Highlander was employed to force it open, he broke a way through the back wall of his house and made his escape, but, being pursued, he cried out for assistance; this brought a Lowland Scots workman to endeavour to save him, and his generous intention cost him his life. Upon this several others took the alarm and came up with the murderer, whom they tried to secure; but he wounded some of them, and received several wounds himself; however, he made his escape for that time. Three days afterwards he was hunted out, and found among the heath (which was then very high), where he had lain all that time with his wounds rankling, and without any sustenance, not being able to get away, because a continual search was made all

round about both night and day, and for the most part within his hearing; for it is more difficult to find a Highlander among the heather, except newly tracked, than a hare in her form.

He was brought to this town and committed to the *tolbooth*, where sentinels were posted to prevent his second escape, which otherwise, in all probability, would have been effected.

Some time afterwards the judges, in their circuit, arrived here, and he was tried and condemned. Then the ministers of the town went to the jail to give him their ghostly advice, and endeavoured to bring him to a confession of his other sins, without which they told him he could not hope for redemption. For, besides this murder, he was strongly suspected to have made away with his former wife, with whose sister he was known to have had too great a familiarity. But when the ministers had said all that is customary concerning the merit of confession, he abruptly asked them, if either or all of them could pardon him, in case he made a confession: and when they had answered—"No, not absolutely," he said, "You have told me, God can forgive me." They said it was true. "Then," said he, "as you cannot pardon me, I have nothing to do with you, but will confess to Him that can."

A little while after, a smith of this town was

sent to take measure of him, in order to make his irons (for he was to be hanged in chains), and, while the man was doing it, the Highlander, with a sneer, said—"Friend, you are now about to do a job for a better workman than yourself; I am certain I could fit you better than you can me."

When the day for his execution came (which, by a late law, could not be under forty days after his condemnation), and I had resolved to stay at home, though perhaps I should have been the only one in the town that did so;—I say having taken that resolution, a certain lieutenant-colonel, who is come into these parts to visit his friends, and is himself a Highlander, for whom I have the greatest esteem; he came to me, and would have me bear him company, declaring, at the same time, that although he had a great desire to see how the criminal would behave, yet he would wave all that, unless I would go with him; and, therefore, rather than disoblige my friend, I consented, but I assure you with reluctancy.

The criminal was a little fellow, but a fearless desperado; and having annexed himself to the clan of the Camerons, the magistrates were apprehensive that some of the tribe might attempt his rescue; and therefore they made application to the commanding officer for a whole com-

pany of men to guard him to the place of execution with greater security.

Accordingly they marched him in the centre, with two of the ministers, one on each side, talking to him by turns all the way for a mile together. But I, not being accustomed to this sort of sights, could not forbear to reflect a little upon the circumstance of a man walking so far on foot to his own execution.

The gibbet was not only erected upon the summit of a hill, but was itself so high that it put me in mind of Haman's gallows.

Being arrived at the place, and the ministers having done praying by him, the executioner, a poor helpless creature, of at least eighty years of age, ascended the ladder. Then one of the magistrates ordered the malefactor to go up after him; upon which the fellow turned himself hastily about; says he, "I did not think the magistrates of Inverness had been such fools, as to bid a man go up a ladder with his hands tied behind him." And, indeed, I thought the great burgher looked very silly, when he ordered the fellow's hands to be set at liberty.

When the knot was fixed, the old hangman (being above the criminal) began to feel about with his feet to find some footing whereby to come down beside the other, in order to turn him off, which I think could hardly have been

done by a young fellow the most nimble and alert, without getting under the ladder, and coming down chiefly by his hands.

Thus the Highlander, feeling the executioner fumbling about him, in a little time seemed to lose all patience; and turning himself about, with his face from the ladder, and his cap over his eyes, he cried out upon the Trinity, which I dare say he had never heard of before he was committed prisoner for this fact, and then jumped off the ladder. And though his hands were free, there did not appear in them, or any other part of his body, the least motion or convulsion, any more than if he had been a statue.

It is true, I could not compare this with other things of the same kind, but I thought it a very bungling execution, yet liked the cause of their unskilfulness.

His mother, who, it seems, is a very vile woman, and had bred him up in encouragement to thieving and other crimes, was present, lying on the heath at some little distance, when he leaped from the ladder; and at that instant set up such a hideous shriek, followed by a screaming Irish howl, that every body seemed greatly surprised at the uncommon noise; and those who knew the woman, loaded her with curses for being the cause of this shameful end of her

son, who, they said, was naturally a man of good sense.

To conclude this subject. The smith who had made the irons (I suppose frighted at the execution) had run away, leaving his tools behind him; and one of the magistrates was forced to rivet them, there being none other that would undertake so shameful a work for any reward whatever.

But I had forgot to acquaint you that my friend the colonel, as we stood together all the while, favoured me with the interpretation of that which passed, and most particularly what was said by the criminal, who could not speak one word of English.

You have now had a view of two tragic scenes, viz. one at Glengary, and the other (being the catastrophe) near Inverness;—at this time a new subject calls upon me to withdraw the latter scene, and restore the former, which represents Glengary.

Some few years ago, a company of Liverpool merchants contracted with the chieftain of this tribe, at a great advantage to him, for the use of his woods and other conveniencies for the smelting of iron; and soon after, they put their project in execution, by building of furnaces, sending ore from Lancashire, &c.

By the way, I should tell you that those works were set up in this country merely for the sake of the woods, because iron cannot be made from the ore with sea or pit coal, to be malleable and fit for ordinary uses.

The dwelling-house of this chieftain had been burnt by the troops in the year 1715; but the walls, which were of stone, remained; and therefore the director of the above-mentioned works thought it convenient to fit it up with new timber, for the use of himself or his successors, during the term of the lease.

This being effectually done, a certain number of gentlemen of the tribe * came to him one

* Mrs. Murray thus relates a remarkable instance of the duplicity of former times.—" One of the M'Donnells, of old probably from Lochaber, coming down to visit Culloden near Inverness, observed how numerous and how fine his cattle were. Culloden lamented that in all probability he should not have sufficient pasture for them during the winter. M'Donnell eyed the cattle, and told his friend he could accommodate him in that matter, if he wished it, he having fine pasture in abundance. The bargain was made for so much a head for a stated time, and M'Donnell promised to take the utmost care of the beasts, if Culloden would have them driven up to his lands; which was accordingly done. In about two months a man from M'Donnell came down with a long face, saying " his chief was in great trouble and dismay at Culloden's cattle having been all stolen and driven away." Culloden, who perfectly well understood the meaning of all this, without expressing either anger or concern, ordered his head servant to take great care of this messenger, and ply him well with meat

evening, on a seeming friendly visit, whom he treated in a generous manner, by giving them his best wines and provisions. Among other things (though a quaker by his religious principles, yet is he a man of polite behaviour), he said to them something to this purpose (for he told me himself how he had been used): "Gentlemen, you have given me a great deal of pleasure in this visit; and when you all, or any of you, will take the trouble to repeat it, let it be when it will, you shall be welcome to any thing that is in *my house*."

Upon those two last words, one of them cried out—"G—d d—n you, sir! your house? I thought it had been Glengary's house!" And upon those watch-words they knocked out the

and drink. After a day or two, the man signified he must return. Culloden, before he departed, called him before him; and without saying a syllable of the cattle, asked him if he had been treated to his heart's content, gave him money, and dismissed him. The messenger returned to M'Donnell, and said to him drily—"the man *must* have his cattle back again!" This peremptory speech astonished the Highland chief, who remonstrated; but the other insisted, and swore if he did not comply he would blaze abroad his roguery, and oblige him to it by force. M'Donnell knew his man, and the consequences if he continued obstinate; he therefore quietly submitted, and in a short time sent the same person again to Culloden, to acquaint him that he was very happy in having overtaken and rescued his cattle from the thieves who had driven them away."—*Murray*, vol. i. 250.

candles, fell upon him, wounded him, and got him down among them; but he being strong and active, and the darkness putting them in confusion lest they should wound one another, he made a shift to slip from them in the bustle, and to gain another room. This he immediately barricaded, and cried out at the window to his workmen, that were not far off, who running to arm themselves and hasten to his assistance, those *gentlemen* made off.*

It only now remains that I make some little animadversion upon this rancorous, treacherous, and inhospitable insult, which, but for an accident, it is much more than probable, would have gone by another name.

Notwithstanding this house was repaired by consent of the chief, and, in course of time, he would have the benefit of so great an expence, yet an English trader dwelling in the *castle*, as they call it, when at the same time the laird inhabited a miserable hut of turf, as he did, and does to this day;—this, I say, was intolerable to their pride; and as it was apparently their design at first to raise a *quarrelle d'Allemand* (a wrong-headed quarrel), whatever other words he had used, they would have found some among them that they might wrest to their inhuman purpose. But those words *(my house)*

* See extracts from the Gartmore MS. in the Appendix.

unluckily served in an eminent degree to provoke their rage,—as a lunatic, who is reasonable by intervals, returns to his ravings when any one touches upon the cause of his madness. However, some good arose from this evil; for, upon complaint made, the chieftain was threatened with a great number of troops to be quartered upon him, and by that means the Liverpool company obtained some new advantageous conditions to be added to their original contract, which have made some amends for the bad usage of their manager and partner: and since that time he has met with no ill treatment from any of the tribe, except some little pilferings, which might have happened any where else.

I am next to give you a conversation-piece, which, with its incidents, I foresee will be pretty spacious; but I shall make no apology for it, because I know your leisure hours to be as many as my own.

I have often heard it urged, as an undeniable argument for the truth of incredible stories, that the number and reputed probity of the witnesses to the truth of a fact is, or ought to be, sufficient to convince the most incredulous. And I have known the unbeliever to be treated by the greatest part of a company as an infidel, or, at best, as a conceited sceptic; and that

only because he could not, without a hypocritical complaisance, own his assent to the truth of relations the most repugnant to reason and the well-known laws and operations of nature.

The being accused of unreasonable unbelief was, some time ago, my own circumstance; and perhaps I have suffered in my character, as a Christian (though Christianity has nothing to do with it), by disputing the truth of a tale, which I thought nobody above the ordinary run of unthinking people could have believed—if upon trust, without examination, may be called believing.

Upon making my first visit to a certain lord not many miles from this town, I found there one of our ministers of the Gospel; for so they call themselves, very probably for a distinction between them and ministers of state.

This gentleman, being in a declining way in his constitution, had been invited by our lord (who I make no doubt has some particular view in making his court to the Presbyterian clergy), —I say this invitation to him was, to pass some time in the hills for the benefit of the mountain air. But this was not a compliment to him alone, but likewise to the whole town; for I do assure you none could be more esteemed than this minister, for his affable temper, exemplary life, and what they call sound doctrine. And for

my own part, I verily think, from some of what I am about to recite, that he was a *true believer;* for I do not in the least suspect him of falsehood, it being so foreign to his known character.

In the evening, our noble host, with the minister and myself, sat down to a bottle of cham paign. And after the conversation had turned upon several subjects, (I do not remember how, but) witchcraft* was brought upon the carpet. By the way, I did intend, after what I have formerly said upon that frivolous subject, never to trouble you with it again.—But to my present purpose.

After the minister had said a good deal concerning the wickedness of such a diabolical practice as sorcery; and that I, in my turn, had declared my opinion of it, which you knew many years ago; he undertook to convince me of the reality of it by an example, which is as follows:

A certain Highland laird had found himself at several times deprived of some part of his wine,

* Witchcraft was the popular belief during the reign of James, who, having fitted a sumptuous ship for the purpose of bringing his "queen, our gracious lady, was detained and stopped by the conspiracies of witches and such devilish dragons;" and, upon the accusation that they had attempted to raise tempests to intercept him, several unfortunate persons were tried and executed in winter 1591.—*Lord Somers's Tracts*, vol. ii. 180.

and having as often examined his servants about it, and none of them confessing, but all denying it with asseverations, he was induced to conclude they were innocent.

The next thing to consider was, how this could happen. "Rats there were none to father the theft. Those, you know, according to your philosophical next-door neighbour, might have drawn out the corks with their teeth, and then put in their tails, which, being long and spungeous, would imbibe a good quantity of liquor. This they might suck out again, and so on, till they had emptied as many bottles as were sufficient for their numbers and the strength of their heads." But to be more serious:—I say, there was no suspicion of rats, and it was concluded it could be done by none but witches.

Here the new inquisition was set on foot, and who they were was the question; but how should that be discovered? To go the shortest way to work, the laird made choice of one night, and an hour when he thought it might be watering-time with the hags; and went to his cellar without a light, the better to surprise them. Then, with his naked broad-sword in his hand, he suddenly opened the door, and shut it after him, and fell to cutting and slashing all round about him, till, at last, by an opposition to the edge of his sword, he concluded he had at least wounded one of them.

But I should have told you, that although the place was very dark, yet he made no doubt, by the glare and flashes of their eyes, that they were cats; but, upon the appearance of a candle, they were all vanished, and only some blood left upon the floor. I cannot forbear to hint in this place at Don Quixotte's battle with the *borachios* of wine.

There was an old woman, that lived about two miles from the laird's habitation, reputed to be a witch: her he greatly suspected to be one of the confederacy, and immediately he hasted away to her hut; and, entering, he found her lying upon her bed, and bleeding excessively.

This alone was some confirmation of the justness of his suspicion; but casting his eye under the bed, there lay her leg in its natural form!*

I must confess I was amazed at the conclusion

* The last instance of national credulity on this head, was the story of the witches of Therso, who, tormenting for a long time an honest fellow, under the usual form of cats, at last provoked him so, that one night he put them to flight with his broad-sword, and cut off the leg of one less nimble than the rest. On his taking it up, to his amazement he found it belonged to a female of his own species, and next morning discovered the owner, an old hag with only the companion-leg to this. The horrors of the tale were considerably abated in the place I heard it, by an unlucky inquiry made by one in the company, viz. "In what part would the old woman have suffered had the man cut off the cat's tail?" But these relations of almost obsolete superstition must ever be thought

of this narration; but ten times more when, with the most serious air, he assured me that he had seen a certificate of the truth of it, signed by four ministers of that part of the country, and could procure me a sight of it in a few days, if I had the curiosity to see it.

When he had finished his story, I used all the arguments I was master of, to show him the absurdity to suppose a woman could be transformed into the shape and diminutive substance of a cat; to vanish like a flash of fire; carry her leg home with her, &c.: and I told him, that if a certificate of the truth of it had been signed by every member of the general assembly, it would be impossible for me (however strong my inclination were to believe) to bring my mind to assent to it. And at last I told him, that if it could be supposed to be true, it might be ranked in one's imagination among the most eminent

a reflection on this country, as long as any memory remains of the tragical end of the poor people at Tring, who, within a few miles of our capital, in 1751, fell a sacrifice to the belief of the common people in witches.—*Pennant's Tour*, vol. i. 189.

The common nursery edition of this idle adventure says, that it was a young man who undertook, by way of bravado, and in defiance of witches, to roast a live cat upon a hazel spit, at midnight, in a solitary hut; and that it was the arm of his bride, with the betrothing ring upon her finger, that he cut off, as she fled through the window; she being the last of the enraged malkins, thus called together, that quitted the field.

miracles. Upon this last word (like *my house* at Glengary) my good lord, who had been silent all this while, said to the minister—" Sir, you must not mind Mr. ——, for he is an atheist."*

I shall not remark upon the politeness, good sense, and hospitality of this reflection; but this imputation, although perhaps it might have passed with me for a jest, or unheeded, before another, induced me, by my present situation, to justify myself to the kirk; and therefore it put me upon telling him, I was sorry his lordship knew me no better, for that I thought there was nothing in the world, that is speculative, would admit of the thousandth part of the reasons for its certainty, as would the being of a Divine Providence; and that the visible evidences were the stupendous contrivance and order of the universe, the fitness of all the parts of every individual creature for their respective occasions, uses, and necessities, &c.; and concluded, that none but an idiot could imagine that senseless atoms could jumble themselves into

* A belief in spectres, witches, fairies, brounies, and hobgoblins, is not yet extinguished in many parts of the Highlands and Western Isles. The old people seem greatly puzzled, and even shocked at the infidelity of the young, and see with the utmost concern, their favourite doctrines vanish as the dawn of reason advances. They lift up their eyes to heaven, and sigh, deeply concerned for their degenerate offspring.—*Campbell's Journey*, vol. i. p. 192.

this wonderful order and economy. To this, and a good deal more to the same purpose, our host said nothing; perhaps he was conscious he had given his own character for mine.

Then I turned to the minister, and told him, that, for my own part, I could not think there was any thing irreligious in denying the supernatural power of witchcraft, because I had, early in my youth, met with such arguments as then convinced me, that the woman of Endor was only an impostor, like our astrologers and fortune-tellers, and not a witch, in the present acceptation of the word; and, if my memory did not deceive me, the principal reasons were, that to support herself in her dishonest profession, she must have been a woman of intelligence and intrigue, and therefore knew what passed in the world, and could not be ignorant of Saul's unhappy and abandoned state at that time. Nor could she be unacquainted with the person and dress of the prophet in his life-time, and therefore might easily describe him; and that Saul saw nothing, though he was in the same room, but took it all from the woman's declaration.

Besides, I told him I might quote the case of Copernicus, who was not far from suffering death for broaching his new system of the earth, because it seemed to contradict a text in the Psalms of David, although the same is now become un-

questionable among the astronomers, and is not at all disproved by the divines. And to this I told him I might add an inference relating to the present belief of the plurality of habitable worlds. Thus tenderly did I deal with a man of his modesty and ill state of health.

I should have been ashamed to relate all this egotism to any other than a truly bosom-friend, to whom one may and ought to talk as to one's self; for otherwise it is, by distrust, to do him injustice.

Some of these ministers put me in mind of Moliere's physicians who were esteemed by the faculty according as they adhered to, or neglected the rules of Hippocrates and Galen; and these, like them, will not go a step out of the old road, and therefore have not been accustomed to hear any thing out of the ordinary way, especially upon subjects which, in their notion, may have any relation even to their traditional tenets. And I think this close adherency to principles, in themselves indifferent, must be owing, in good measure, to their fear of the dreadful word heterodoxy. But this gentleman heard all that I had to say against his notion of witchcraft*with great attention, either for the

* The celebrated Sir George Mackenzie, the learned lord advocate of Scotland, in the reigns of Charles II. and James VII. declares witchcraft *to be the greatest of crimes, and that the*

novelty of it, or by indulgence to a stranger, or both. And I am fully persuaded it was the newness of that opposition which tempted him to sit up later than was convenient for him;—I say his sitting up only, because I think the very little he drank could make no alteration in his health; but not many days after, I heard of his death, which was much lamented by the people of this town and the surrounding country.

lawyers of Scotland cannot doubt there are witches, since the law ordains them to be punished. It is not to be wondered at, then, that this barbarous mode of punishment was persevered in. At Kirkaldy a man and his wife were burnt, in 1633, for witchcraft; on September 13th, 1678, ten women were strangled and burnt for the same crime. Among the late instances of this kind, was one at Paisley, in 1697, and an instance is on record so late as 1722. What notions shall we form of popular opinion, when his majesty's advocate could prosecute, fifteen impartial jurymen convict, and the supreme judge of the nation condemn to the flames, ten women for this imaginary crime?—*Campbell's Journey*, vol. ii. 62.

LETTER XV.

I HAVE hitherto been speaking only of the part of Scotland where I am, viz. the eastern side of this island, bordering upon the northern mountains, which part I take to be a kind of medium between the Lowlands and Highlands, both by its situation, and as it partakes of the language and customs of both those extremes.

In England the name of Scotsman is used indiscriminately to signify any one of the male part of the natives of North Britain; but the Highlanders differ from the people of the Low-country in almost every circumstance of life. Their language, customs, manners, dress, &c. are unlike, and neither of them would be contented to be taken for the other, insomuch that in speaking of an unknown person of this country (I mean Scotland) as a Scotsman only, it is as indefinite as barely to call a Frenchman an European, so little would his native character be known by it.

I own it may be said there is a difference in the other part of this island between the Eng-

lish and the Welsh; but I think it is hardly in any degree to be compared with the above-mentioned distinction.

You will conclude I am speaking only of such among the people of Scotland who have not had the advantages of fortune and education, for letters and converse with polite strangers will render all mankind equal, so far as their genius and application will admit; some few prejudices, of no very great consequence, excepted.

A crowd of other remarks and observations were just now pressing for admittance, but I have rejected them all, as fit only to anticipate some of the contents of the sheets that are to follow; and therefore I am now at liberty to begin my account of the most northern part of Great Britain, so far as it has fallen within my knowledge.

The Highlands take up more than one-half of Scotland; they extend from Dumbarton, near the mouth of the river Clyde, to the northernmost part of the island, which is above two hundred miles, and their breadth is from fifty to above a hundred; but how to describe them to you, so as to give you any tolerable idea of such a rugged country,—to you, I say, who have never been out of the south of England—is, I fear, a task altogether impracticable.

If it had been possible for me to procure a land-scape (I should say *heath*-scape or *rock*-scape) of any one tremendous view among the mountains, it would be satisfactory and informing at one single cast of the eye; but language, you know, can only communicate ideas, as it were, by retail; and a description of one part of an object, which is composed of many, defaces or weakens another that went before; whereas painting not only shows the whole entire at one view, but leaves the several parts to be examined separately and at leisure by the eye.

From words we can only receive a notion of such unknown objects as bear some resemblance with others we have seen, but painting can even create ideas of bodies utterly unlike to any thing that ever appeared to our sight.

Thus am I entering upon my most difficult task, for the customs and manners of the Highlanders will give me little trouble more than the transcribing; but as I believe I am the first who ever attempted a minute description of any such mountains I cannot but greatly doubt of my success herein; and nothing but your friendship and your request (which to me is a command) could have engaged me to hazard my credit even with you, indulgent as you are, by an undertaking wherein the odds

are so much against me. But to begin.—The Highlands are, for the greatest part, composed of hills,* as it were, piled one upon another till the complication rises and swells to mountains, of which the heads are frequently above the clouds, and near the summit have vast hollows filled up with snow, which, on the north side, continues all the year long.

From the west coast they rise, as it were, in progression upwards, toward the midland country eastward (for on the east side of the island they are not generally quite so high), and their ridges, for the most part, run west and east, or near those points, as do likewise all the yet discovered beds or seams of minerals they contain, with which, I have good reason to believe, they are well furnished.†

* Mr. Boswell thus describes Highland scenery:—"From an old tower near this place (Ulinish) is an extensive view of Loch Braccadil, and, at a distance, of the isles of Barra and South Uist, and, on the land-side, Cuillin, a prodigious range of mountains, capped with rocky pinnacles in a strange variety of shapes; they resemble the mountains near Corté, in Corsica, and make part of a great range for deer, which, though entirely devoid of trees, is in these countries called *a forest.*"—*Boswell's Tour*, 239.

† Limestone is found in every district of this county, approaching to the nature of marble. In Lochaber, near the farm-houses of Ballachulish, there is a limestone, or marble rock, of a beautiful ashen-grey colour, and of a fine regular uniform grain or

This position of the mountains has created arguments for the truth of an universal deluge; as if the waters had formed those vast inequalities, by rushing violently from east to west.

The summits of the highest are mostly destitute of earth; and the huge naked rocks, being just above the heath, produce the disagreeable appearance of a scabbed head, especially when they appear to the view in a conical figure; for as you proceed round them in valleys, on lesser hills, or the sides of other mountains, their form varies according to the situation of the eye that beholds them.

They are clothed with heath interspersed with rocks, and it is very rare to see any spot of grass; for those (few as they are) lie concealed from an outward view, in flats and hollows among the hills.* There are, indeed, some

texture, capable of being raised in blocks or slabs of any size, and equally so of receiving a fine polish. Many of the mountains are composed of reddish granite. In the parish of Kingussie a rich vein of silver was discovered, and attempted to be wrought, but without success; and, in other places, veins of lead containing silver have been discovered. Iron ore has also been found, but not in sufficient quantity to render it an object of manufacture. —*Beauties of Scotland*, vol. v. 300.

* The highest and wildest parts of this county have been found extremely well adapted for the pasture of sheep. The mountains of Lochaber are exceedingly fit for being stocked with them; even the high tops of them are green, and afford fine pasture.

mountains that have woods of fir, or small oaks on their declivity, where the root of one tree is almost upon a line with the top of another: these are rarely seen in a journey; what there may be behind, out of all common ways, I do not know; but none of them will pay for felling and removing over rocks, bogs, precipices, and conveyance by rocky rivers, except such as are near the sea-coast, and hardly those, as I believe the York Buildings Company will find in the conclusion.*

I have already mentioned the spaces of snow near the tops of the mountains: they are great hollows, appearing below as small spots of white (I will suppose of the dimensions of a pretty large table), but they are so diminished to the eye by their vast height and distance, from,

About mid-hill there is commonly moss, which is flat when compared with the steep slopes above it; and below that moss there is generally what is called a *brae face;* which, from the spouts issuing in consequence of the flat above, is much covered with sprets, intermixed with tufts of heath growing upon the small heights formed by the little runs that are collected from the different springs. This pretty coarse grass is not easily killed by frost, and is therefore a great resource to the sheep in winter; and the tufts of heath, standing high and intermixed with it, are of considerable benefit in falls of snow.—*Beauties of Scotland*, vol. v. 297, 298.

* In the inland parts of the country, the extensive copse-woods are very valuable; the birch, &c. furnishing charcoal for the furnace, and the oak bark for the tanner.

perhaps, a mile or more in length, and breadth proportionable. This I know by experience, having ridden over such a patch of snow in the month of June: the surface was smooth, not slippery, and so hard my horse's feet made little or no impression on it; and in one place I rode over a bridge of snow hollowed into a kind of arch. I then made no doubt this passage for the water, at bottom of the deep bourn, was opened by the warmth of springs; of which, I suppose, in dry weather, the current was wholly composed.

From the tops of the mountains there descend deep, wide, and winding hollows, ploughed into the sides by the weight and violent rapidity of the waters, which often loosen and bring down stones of an incredible bigness.

Of one of these hollows, only part appears to sight in different places of the descent; the rest is lost to view in meanders among the hills.

When the uppermost waters begin to appear with white streaks in these cavities, the inhabitants who are within view of the height say, *The grey mare's tail begins to grow,* and it serves to them as a monitor of ensuing peril, if at that time they venture far from home; because they might be in danger, by waters, to have all communication cut off between them and shelter or sustenance. And they are very skilful to

judge in what course of time the rivers and bourns will become impassable.

The dashing and foaming of these cataracts among the rocks make them look exceedingly white, by comparison with the bordering heath; but when the mountains are covered with snow, and that is melting, then those streams of water, compared with the whiteness near them, look of a dirty-yellowish colour, from the soil and sulphur mixed with them as they descend. But every thing, you know, is this or that by comparison.

I shall soon conclude this description of the outward appearance of the mountains, which I am already tired of, as a disagreeable subject, and I believe you are so too: but, for your future ease in that particular, there is not much variety in it, but gloomy spaces, different rocks, heath, and high and low.

To cast one's eye from an eminence toward a group of them, they appear still one above another, fainter and fainter, according to the aërial perspective, and the whole of a dismal gloomy brown drawing upon a dirty purple; and most of all disagreeable when the heath is in bloom.

Those ridges of the mountains that appear next to the ether—by their rugged irregular lines, the heath and black rocks—are rendered extremely harsh to the eye, by appearing close

to that diaphanous body, without any medium to soften the opposition; and the clearer the day, the more rude and offensive they are to the sight; yet, in some few places, where any white crags are a-top, that harshness is something softened.

But of all the views, I think the most horrid is, to look at the hills from east to west, or *vice versâ*, for then the eye penetrates far among them, and sees more particularly their stupendous bulk, frightful irregularity, and horrid gloom, made yet more *sombrous* by the shades and faint reflections they communicate one to another.

As a specimen of the height of those mountains, I shall here take notice of one in Lochaber, called Ben-Nevis,* which, from the level below to that part of the summit only which appears to view, has been several times measured by different artists, and found to be three-quarters of a mile of perpendicular height.

* This is the highest mountain in the island of Great Britain: it is situated to the south-east of Fort William: its altitude is not less than 4,370 feet. It is easily ascended by a ridge of the mountain towards the west, about a quarter of a mile up the water Nevis, and affords a noble prospect of the surrounding country. Its upper half is wholly barren, consisting entirely of rock, without any mixture of earth. On the north-east side there is a perpendicular descent of four or five hundred yards, the appearance of which is truly terrific. The sound of a stone thrown over the

It is reckoned seven Scots miles to that part where it begins to be inaccessible.

Some English officers took it in their fancy to go to the top, but could not attain it for bogs and huge perpendicular rocks; and when they were got as high as they could go, they found a vast change in the quality of the air, saw nothing but the tops of other mountains, and altogether a prospect of one tremendous heath, with here and there some spots of crags and snow.

This wild expedition, in ascending round and round the hills, in finding accessible places, helping one another up the rocks, in disappointments, and their returning to the foot of the mountain, took them up a whole summer's day, from five in the morning. This is according to their own relation. But they were fortunate in an article of the greatest importance to them, *i. e.* that the mountain happened to be free from clouds while they were in it, which is a thing not very common in that dabbled part of the island,

cliff to the bottom cannot be heard at its fall. Ben-Nevis is covered by clouds and snow towards the top, which few travellers have perseverance enough to witness. A lady who had reached the summit of this mountain left there a bottle of whiskey, and, on her return, laughingly mentioned the circumstance, before some Highlandmen, as a piece of carelessness; one of whom slipped away, and mounted to the pinnacle of 4,370 feet above the level of the fort, to gain this prize, and brought it down in triumph.—*Beauties of Scotland*, vol. v. 286.—*Murray's Guide*, vol. i. 292.

the Western Hills;—I say, if those condensed vapours had passed while they were at any considerable height, and had continued, there would have been no means left for them to find their way down, and they must have perished with cold, wet, and hunger.

In passing to the heart of the Highlands we proceeded from bad to worse, which makes the *worst of all* the less surprising: but I have often heard it said by my countrymen, that they verily believed, if an inhabitant of the south of England were to be brought blindfold into some narrow, rocky hollow, enclosed with these horrid prospects, and there to have his bandage taken off, he would be ready to die with fear, as thinking it impossible he should ever get out to return to his native country.

Now what do you think of a poetical mountain, smooth and easy of ascent, clothed with a verdant, flowery turf, where shepherds tend their flocks, sitting under the shade of small poplars, &c?—In short, what do you think of Richmond Hill, where we have passed so many hours together, delighted with the beautiful prospect?

But after this description of these mountains, it is not unlikely you may ask, of what use can be such monstrous excrescences?

To this I should answer, they contain mi-

nerals,* as I said before; and serve for the breeding and feeding of cattle, wild fowls, and other useful animals, which cost little or nothing in keeping. They break the clouds, and not only replenish the rivers, but collect great quantities of water into lakes and other vast reservoirs, where they are husbanded, as I may say, for the use of mankind in time of drought; and thence, by their gravity, perforate the crannies of rocks and looser strata, and work their way either perpendicularly, horizontally, or obliquely; the two latter, when they meet with solid rock, clay, or some other resisting stratum, till they find their proper passages downward, and in the end form the springs below. And, certainly, it is the deformity of the hills that makes the natives conceive of their naked *straths* and *glens*, as of the most beautiful objects in nature.

But as I suppose you are unacquainted with

* A great part of the mountain of Ben-Nevis is composed of porphyry. It is a remarkably fine, beautiful, and elegant stone, of a reddish cast, in which the pale-rose, the blush, and the yellowish-white colours, are finely shaded through the body of the stone, which is of a jelly-like texture, and is undoubtedly one of the most elegant stones in the world; and there is enough in this mountain alone to serve all the kingdoms of the universe, though they were all as fond of granite as ancient Egypt.—*Beauties of Scotland*, vol. v 291.

these words, I shall here take occasion to explain them to you.

A *strath* is a flat space of arable land, lying along the side or sides of some capital river, between the water and the feet of the hills; and keeps its name till the river comes to be confined to a narrow space, by stony moors, rocks, or windings among the mountains.

The *glen* is a little spot of corn country, by the sides of some small river or rivulet, likewise bounded by hills; this is in general: but there are some spaces that are called glens, from their being flats in deep hollows between the high mountains, although they are perfectly barren, as *Glen-dou* (or the black glen), Glen-Almond, &c.

By the way, this Glen-Almond† is a hollow

* A *Glen* is a *valley.*

† The entrance into Glen-Almond from Crieff has something uncommonly striking in it:—prodigious craggy mountains rising to the clouds, bending their rough heads to each other over the glen, through which the water rolls its murmuring torrent in a stony bed. I entered this silent, solemn pass (where no trace of human habitation is seen, no sound heard, save that of the bleating sheep and the rushing water) with awful pleasure. The river Almond, in floods and on sudden thaws, is a prodigiously furious water. It rises rapidly to an incredible height, and roars down with such violence that it carries every thing before it with a noise like thunder.—*Murray's Guide*, vol. i. 182.

so very narrow, and the mountains on each side so steep and high, that the sun is seen therein no more than between two and three hours in the longest day.

Now let us go among the hills, and see if we can find something more agreeable than their outward appearance. And to that end I shall give you the journal of two days' progress; which, I believe, will better answer the purpose than a disjointed account of the inconveniencies, hazards, and hardships, that attend a traveller in the heart of the Highlands. But before I begin the particular account of my progress, I shall venture at a general description of one of the mountain spaces, between glen and glen: and when that is done, you may make the comparison with one of our southern rambles; in which, without any previous *route*, we used to wander from place to place, just so as the beauty of the country invited.

How have we been pleased with the easy ascent of an eminence, which almost imperceptibly brought us to the beautiful prospects seen, from its summit! What a delightful variety of fields, and meadows of various tints of green, adorned with trees and blooming hedges; and the whole embellished with woods, groves, waters, flocks, herds, and magnificent seats of

the happy (at least seemingly so); and every other rising ground opening a new and lovely landscape!

But in one of these *monts* (as the Highlanders call them), soon after your entrance upon the first hill, you lose, for good and all, the sight of the plain from whence you parted; and nothing follows but the view of rocks and heath, both beneath and on every side, with high and barren mountains round about.

Thus you creep slowly on, between the hills in rocky ways, sometimes over those eminences, and often on their declivities, continually hoping the next ridge before you will be the summit of the highest, and so often deceived in that hope, as almost to despair of ever reaching the top. And thus you are still rising by long ascents, and again descending by shorter, till you arrive at the highest ground; from whence you go down in much the same manner, reversed, and never have the glen in view that you wish to see, as the end of your present trouble, till you are just upon it. And when you are there, the inconveniencies (though not the hazards) are almost as great as in the tedious passage to it.

As an introduction to my journal, I must acquaint you that I was advised to take with me

some cold provisions, and oats for my horses, there being no place of refreshment till the end of my first day's journey.

The 2d of *October*, 172—

Set out with one servant and a guide; the latter, because no stranger (or even a native, unacquainted with the way) can venture among the hills without a conductor; for if he once go aside, and most especially if snow should fall (which may happen on the very high hills at any season of the year), in that, or any other case, he may wander into a bog to impassable bourns or rocks, and every *ne plus ultra* oblige him to change his course, till he wanders from all hopes of ever again seeing the face of a human creature. Or if he should accidentally hit upon the way from whence he strayed, he would not distinguish it from another, there is such a seeming sameness in all the rocky places. Or again, if he should happen to meet with some Highlander, and one that was not unwilling to give him directions, he could not declare his wants, as being a stranger to the language of the country. In short, one might as well think of making a sea voyage without sun, moon, stars, or compass, as pretend to know which way to take, when lost among the hills and mountains.

But to return to my journal from which I

have strayed, though not with much danger, it being at first setting out, and my guide with me.

After riding about four miles of pretty good road over heathy moors, hilly, but none high or of steep ascent, I came to a small river, where there was a ferry; for the water was too deep and rapid to pass the ford above. The boat was patched almost every where with rough pieces of boards, and the oars were kept in their places by small bands of twisted sticks.

I could not but inquire its age, seeing it had so many marks of antiquity; and was told by the ferryman it had belonged to his father, and was above sixty years old. This put me in mind of the knife, which was of an extraordinary age, but had, at times, been repaired with many new blades and handles. But in most places of the Highlands, where there is a boat (which is very rare), it is much worse than this, and not large enough to receive a horse; and therefore he is swum at the stern, while somebody holds up his head by a halter or bridle.

The horses swim very well at first setting out; but if the water be wide, in time they generally turn themselves on one of their sides, and patiently suffer themselves to be dragged along.

I remember one of these boats was so very much out of repair, we were forced to stand

upon clods of turf to stop the leaks in her bottom, while we passed across the river.*

I shall here conclude, in the style of the news-writers——This to be continued in my next.

* This was but a sorry shift. Had there been a *M'Intyre* in the boat, he would probably have suggested some more effectual expedient. It is said of the first of that family who came to the Highlands, that being, on his way from Ireland, overtaken by a storm, a plug in the bottom of the boat was displaced, and inadvertently thrown overboard in baling. Having nothing else to supply its place, he stuck his thumb in the hole, and his *hand* being wanted in another part of the boat, he took an axe, cut off his thumb, and left it there; from which he was ever after called AN SAOR, the carpenter; and his descendants, MAC AN TSHAOR, Macintyre, *Carpenterson*, or *Wrightson*.——The probability is, that he was a descendant of one of those northern adventurers who were settled (some of them, at least as early as the third century) in Ireland, and excelled in the arts of his countrymen, among whom a skill in naval architecture was, as in the days of Ulysses, considered as one of the most honourable acccomplishments of a prince.—Among the Highlanders every man was his own carpenter, and a ship-builder was the only professional worker in wood they had occasion for.

LETTER XVI.

From the river's side I ascended a steep hill, so full of large stones, it was impossible to make a trot. This continued up and down about a mile and half.

At the foot of the hill, tolerable way for a mile, there being no great quantity of stones among the heath, but very uneven; and, at the end of it, a small bourn descending from between two hills, worn deep among the rocks, rough, rapid, and steep, and dangerous to pass. I concluded some rain had fallen behind the hills that were near me; which I could not see, because it had a much greater fall of water than any of the like kind I had passed before.

From hence a hill five miles over, chiefly composed of lesser hills; so stony, that it was impossible to crawl above a mile in an hour. But I must except a small part of it from this general description; for there ran across this way (or *road*, as they call it) the end of a wood of fir-trees, the only one I had ever passed.

This, for the most part, was an easy, rising

slope of about half a mile. In most places of the surface it was bog about two feet deep, and beneath was uneven rock; in other parts the rock and roots of the trees appeared to view.

The roots sometimes crossed one another, as they ran along a good way upon the face of the rock, and often above the boggy part, by both which my horses' legs were so much entangled, that I thought it impossible to keep them upon their feet. But you would not have been displeased to observe how the roots had run along, and felt, as it were, for the crannies of the rock; and there shot into them, as a hold against the pressure of winds above.*

At the end of this hill was a river, or rather rivulet, and near the edge of it a small grassy spot, such as I had not seen in all my way, but the place not inhabited. Here I stopped to bait. My own provisions were laid upon the foot of a rock, and the oats upon a kind of mossy grass, as the cleanest place for the horses' feeding.

While I was taking some refreshment, chance provided me with a more agreeable repast—the pleasure of the mind. I happened to espy a poor Highlander at a great height, upon the declivity of a high hill, and ordered my guide to

* Had not the roots grown in the soil, and been afterwards laid bare by the torrents? From what we have observed of forest phenomena, this seems the more probable conjecture.

call him down. The *trout so* (or come hither) seemed agreeable to him, and he came down with wonderful celerity, considering the roughness of the hill; and asking what was *my will* (in his language), he was given to understand I wanted him only to eat and drink. This unexpected answer raised such joy in the poor creature, that he could not help showing it by skipping about, and expressing sounds of satisfaction. And when I was retired a little way down the river, to give the men an opportunity of enjoying themselves with less restraint, there was such mirth among the three, as I thought a sufficient recompence for my former fatigue.

But, perhaps, you may question how there could be such merriment, with nothing but water?

I carried with me a quart-bottle of brandy, for my man and the guide; and for myself, I had always in my journeys a *pocket-pistol*, loaded with brandy, mixed with juice of lemon (when they were to be had), which again mingled with water in a wooden cup, was, upon such occasions, my table-drink.

When we had trussed up our baggage, I entered the ford, and passed it not without danger, the bottom being filled with large stones, the current rapid, a steep, rocky descent to the water, and a rising on the further side much

worse; for having mounted a little way up the declivity, in turning the corner of a rock I came to an exceedingly steep part before I was aware of it, where I thought my horse would have gone down backwards, much faster than he went up; but I recovered a small flat of the rock, and dismounted.

There was nothing remarkable afterwards, till I came near the top of the hill; where there was a seeming plain, of about a hundred and fifty yards, between me and the summit.

No sooner was I upon the edge of it, but my guide desired me to alight; and then I perceived it was a bog, or peat-moss, as they call it.

I had experience enough of these deceitful surfaces to order that the horses should be led in separate parts, lest, if one broke the turf, the other, treading in his steps, might sink.

The horse I used to ride, having little weight but his own, went on pretty successfully; only now and then breaking the surface a little; but the other, that carried my portmanteau, and being not quite so nimble, was much in danger, till near the further end, and there he sank. But it luckily happened to be in a part where his long legs went to the bottom, which is generally hard gravel, or rock; but he was in almost up to the back.

By this time my own (for distinction) was

quite free of the bog, and being frighted, stood very tamely by himself; which he would not have done at another time. In the mean while we were forced to wait at a distance, while the other was flouncing and throwing the dirt about him; for there was no means of coming near him to ease him of the heavy burden he had upon his loins, by which he was sometimes in danger to be turned upon his back, when he rose to break the bog before him. But, in about a quarter of an hour, he got out, bedaubed with the slough, shaking with fear, and his head and neck all over in a foam.

This bog was stiff enough at that time to bear the country *garrons* in any part of it. But it is observed of the English horses, that when they find themselves hampered, they stand still, and tremble till they sink, and then they struggle violently, and work themselves further in; and if the bog be deep, as most of them are, it is next to impossible to get them out, otherwise than by digging them a passage. But the little Highland hobbies, when they find themselves bogged, will lie still till they are relieved. And besides, being bred in the mountains, they have learnt to avoid the weaker parts of the mire; and sometimes our own horses, having put down their heads and smelt to the bog, will refuse to enter upon it.

There is a certain lord in one of the most northern parts, who makes use of the little *garrons* for the bogs and rough ways, but has a sizeable horse led with him, to carry him through the deep and rapid fords.

As for myself, I was harrassed on this slough, by winding about from place to place, to find such tufts as were within my stride or leap, in my heavy boots with high heels; which, by my spring, when the little hillocks, were too far asunder, broke the turf, and then I threw myself down toward the next protuberance: but to my guide it seemed nothing; he was light of body, shod with flat *brogues*, wide in the soles, and accustomed to a particular step, suited to the occasion.

This hill was about three quarters of a mile over, and had but a short descent on the further side, rough, indeed, but not remarkable in this country. I had now five computed miles to go before I came to my first asylum,— that is, five Scots miles, which, as in the north of England, are longer than yours as three is to two; and, if the difficulty of the way were to be taken into account, it might well be called fifteen. This, except about three quarters of a mile of heathy ground, pretty free from stones and rocks, consisted of stony moors, almost impracticable for a horse with his rider, and likewise

of rocky way, where we were obliged to dismount, and sometimes climb, and otherwhile slide down. But what vexed me most of all, they called it a road; and yet I must confess it was preferable to a boggy way. The great difficulty was to wind about with the horses, and find such places as they could possibly be got over.

When we came near the foot of the lowermost hill, I discovered a pretty large glen, which before was not to be seen. I believe it might be about a quarter of a mile wide, enclosed by exceedingly high mountains, with nine dwelling-huts, besides a few others of a lesser size for barns and stables: this they call a town with a pompous name belonging to it; but the comfort of being near the end of my day's journey, heartily tired, was mixed with the allay of a pretty wide river, that ran between me and my lodging.

Having passed the hill, I entered the river, my horse being almost at once up to his midsides; the guide led him by the bridle, as he was sometimes climbing over the loose stones which lay in all positions, and many of them two or three feet diameter; at other times with his nose in the water and mounted up behind. Thus he proceeded with the utmost caution, never removing one foot till he found the others

firm, and all the while seeming impatient of the pressure of the torrent, as if he was sensible that, once losing his footing, he should be driven away and dashed against the rocks below.

In other rapid rivers, where I was something acquainted with the fords, by having passed them before, though never so stony, I thought the leader of my horse to be an incumbrance to him; and I have always found, as the rivers, while they are passable, are pretty clear, the horse is the surest judge of his own safety. Perhaps some would think it strange I speak in this manner of a creature that we proudly call irrational. There is a certain giddiness attends the violent passage of the water when one is in it, and therefore I always, at entering, resolved to keep my eye steadily fixed on some remarkable stone on the shore of the further side, and my horse's ears, as near as I could, in a line with it, leaving him to choose his steps; for the rider, especially if he casts his eye down the torrent, does not know whether he goes directly forward or not, but fancies he is carried, like the leeway of a ship, sideways along with the stream. If he cannot forbear looking aside, it is best to turn his face toward the coming current.

Another precaution is (and you cannot use too many), to let your legs hang in the water; and, where the stones will permit, to preserve

a firmer seat, in case of any sudden slide or stumble.

By what I have been saying you will perceive I still retain the custom of my own country, in not sending my servant before me through these dangerous waters, as is the constant practice of all the natives of Scotland; nor could I prevail with myself to do so, at least unless, like theirs, mine went before me in smooth as well as bad roads. But in that there are several inconveniences: and although a servant may by some be contemned for his servile circumstance of life, I could never bear the thoughts of exposing him to dangers for my own safety and security, lest he should despise me with more justice, and in a greater degree, for the want of a necessary resolution and fortitude.*

I shall here mention a whimsical expedient against the danger of these Highland fords.

* Expediency often spoils fine sentiments, and we shall soon find our author going across a river (like an emperor elect to the capitol) mounted *on the shoulders of four Highlanders.* In England, a gentleman, accustomed from his boyhood to swimming and riding, can make his way over a torrent or a precipice much better than a peasant; but, in Scotland, the reverse was the case, and no faithful servant would have continued with a master who disputed his privilege of going first. If the master was lost, all was lost to the servant and his family; but if the servant was lost, his family was sure to be not only provided for, but to thrive

An officer, who was lately quartered at one of the barracks in a very mountainous part of the country, when he travelled, carried with him a long rope; this was to be put round his body, under his arms, and those that attended him were to wade the river, and hold the rope on the other side, that, if any accident should happen to him by depth of water, or the failure of his horse, they might prevent his being carried down the current and drag him ashore.

The instant I had recovered the further side of the river, there appeared, near the water, six Highland men and a woman; these, I suppose, had coasted the stream over rocks, and along the sides of steep hills, for I had not seen them before. Seeing they were preparing to wade, I staid to observe them: first the men and the woman tucked up their petticoats, then they cast themselves into a rank, with the female in the middle, and laid their arms over one ano-

among their neighbours, from the generous sympathy excited by his fate. In England, the servant went behind, as he commonly now does in Scotland, because there was no longer any good reason for his going before; in Scotland, where ready accommodation was not to be expected, an *avant-courier* was necessary, to announce the approach of a guest. How *running footmen* were formerly trained in Britain we know not; where they are kept on the continent, they are made to run, with heavy clogs, on ploughed land, in order that they may feel the more light when equipped for expedition.

ther's shoulders; and I saw they had placed the strongest toward the stream, as best able to resist the force of the torrent. In their passage, the large slippery stones made some of them now and then lose their footing: and, on those occasions, the whole rank changed colour and countenance. I believe no painter ever remarked such strong impressions of fear and hope on a human face, with so many and sudden successions of those two opposite passions, as I observed among those poor people; but in the Highlands this is no uncommon thing.

Perhaps you will ask—"How does a single Highlander support himself against so great a force?" He bears himself up against the stream with a stick, which he always carries with him for that purpose.

As I am now at the end of my first day's journey, and have no mind to resume this disagreeable subject in another place, I shall ask leave to mention one danger more attending the Highland fords; and that is, the sudden gushes of waters that sometimes descend from behind the adjacent hills, insomuch that, when the river has not been above a foot deep, the passenger, thinking himself secure, has been overtaken and carried away by the torrent.*

* These accidents are very common, and strangers cannot be too much upon their guard against them. The following striking

Such accidents have happened twice within my knowledge, in two different small rivers, both within seven miles of this town; one to an exciseman and the messenger who was carrying him from hence to Edinburgh, in order to answer some accusations relating to his office; the other to two young fellows of a neighbouring clan;—all drowned in the manner above-mentioned. And, from these two instances, we may reasonably conclude that many accidents of the same nature have happened, especially in more mountainous parts, and those hardly ever known but in the narrow neighbourhoods of the unhappy sufferers.

When I came to my *inn*, I found the stable-

instance of presence of mind in a Highlander, under such circumstances, may be worth recording:—a Murrayshire farmer was in the habit of taking his plough-oxen every summer to Strathdon to grass. One fine, clear day he was passing a river on stepping-stones along with a Highlander; the Highlander had reached the opposite bank, and the farmer was loitering upon the stones and looking about him, wondering at a sudden noise he heard, when the Highlander cried out, "Help! help! or I'm a dead man!" and fell to the ground; the farmer sprung to his assistance, and had hardly reached him when the torrent came down, sweeping over the stones with such fury as no human force could have withstood. The Highlander had heard the roaring of the stream behind the rocks that intercepted its approach from his view, and fearing that the stranger might be panic-struck and lost, if he told him of his danger, took this expedient to save him.

door too low to receive my large horses, though high enough for the country garrons; so the frame was taken out, and a small part of the roof pulled down for their admittance; for which damage I had a shilling to pay the next morning. My fear was, the hut being weak and small, they would pull it about their ears; for that mischance had happened to a gentleman who bore me company in a former journey, but his horses were not much hurt by the ruins.

When oats were brought I found them so light and so much sprouted, that, taking up a handful, others hung to them, in succession, like a cluster of bees; but of such corn it is the custom to give double measure.

My next care was to provide for myself, and to that end I entered the dwelling-house. There my landlady sat, with a parcel of children about her, some quite, and others almost, naked, by a little peat fire, in the middle of the hut;*

* Dr. Johnson has described the mode of forming these rude dwellings as follows:—"A hut is constructed with loose stones, ranged, for the most part, with some tendency to circularity. It must be placed where the wind cannot act upon it with violence, because it has no cement, and where the water will run easily away, because it has no floor but the naked ground. The wall, which is commonly about six feet high, declines from the perpendicular a little inward; such rafters as can be procured are then raised for a roof, and covered with heath, which makes a

and over the fire-place was a small hole in the roof for a chimney. The floor was common earth, very uneven, and no where dry, but near the fire and in the corners, where no foot had carried the muddy dirt from without doors.

The skeleton of the hut was formed of small crooked timber, but the beam for the roof was large, out of all proportion. This is to render the weight of the whole more fit to resist the violent flurries of wind that frequently rush into the plains from the openings of the mountains; for the whole fabric was set upon the surface of the ground like a table, stool, or other moveable.

Hence comes the Higlander's compliment, or health, in drinking to his friend; for as we say, among familiar acquaintance, "To your *fire-side;*" he says, much to the same purpose, "To your *roof-tree,*" alluding to the family's safety from tempests.*

strong and warm thatch, kept from flying off by ropes of twisted heath, of which the ends, reaching from the centre of the thatch to the top of the wall, are held firm by the weight of a large stone. No light is admitted but at the entrance, and through a hole in the thatch, which gives vent to the smoke; this hole is not directly over the fire, lest the rain should extinguish it: and the smoke therefore naturally fills the place before it escapes."—*Johnson's Journey*, Works, vol. viii. 240.

* The *fire-side* means only the family, but the *roof-tree* includes also the cows, horses, pigs, and poultry, which then, and

The walls were about four feet high, lined with sticks wattled like a hurdle, built on the outside with turf; and thinner slices of the same served for tiling. This last they call *divet*.

When the hut has been built some time it is covered with weeds and grass; and, I do assure you, I have seen sheep, that had got up from the foot of an adjoining hill, feeding upon the top of the house.*

If there happen to be any continuance of dry weather, which is pretty rare, the worms drop out of the *divet* for want of moisture, insomuch that I have shuddered at the apprehension of their falling into the dish when I have been eating.

even in our own days, were, both in the Highlands and many parts of the Lowlands of Scotland, as they still are in some parts of Ireland, all under the same *roof*, and entered by the same door.

* We have seen the same thing in Sweden, where it is more common.

LETTER XVII.

At a little distance was another hut, where preparations were making for my reception. It was something less, but contained two beds, or boxes to lie in, and was kept as an apartment for people of distinction;—or, which is all one, for such as seem by their appearance to promise expence. And, indeed, I have often found but little difference in that article, between one of those huts and the best inn in England. Nay, if I were to reckon the value of what I had for my own use by the country price, it would appear to be ten times dearer: but it is not the maxim of the Highlands alone (as we know), that those who travel must pay for such as stay at home; and really the Highland gentlemen themselves are less scrupulous of expence in these public huts than anywhere else. And their example, in great measure, authorises impositions upon strangers, who may complain, but can have no redress.*

* The gentlemen of the country were surely the best judges of the circumstances of the country. Small gains do very well where

The landlord not only sits down with you, as in the northern Lowlands, but, in some little time, asks leave (and sometimes not) to introduce his brother, cousin, or more, who are all to drink your honour's health in usky; which, though a strong spirit, is to them like water. And this I have often seen them drink out of a scallop-shell. And in other journeys, notwithstanding their great familiarity with me, I have several times seen my servant at a loss how to behave, when the Highlander has turned about and very formally drank to him: and when I have baited, and eaten two or three eggs, and nothing else to be had, when I asked the question, "What is there for eating?" the answer has been, "Nothing for you, sir; but six-pence for your man."

The host, who is rarely other than a gentleman, is interpreter between you and those who do not speak English; so that you lose nothing of what any one has to say relating to the antiquity of their family, or the heroic actions

there are many customers; but in the Highlands there were very few; and it was good policy to encourage the keeping up of houses of entertainment for travellers, in places where they were so necessary, which could not be done otherwise than by paying liberally. But when a gentleman had *nothing* to pay for himself, and only *sixpence* for his hungry, and less fastidious servant, who had eaten the mutton and fowls provided for his master, there was not much to complain of.

of their ancestors in war with some other clan.*

If the guest be a stranger, not seen before by the man of the house, he takes the first opportunity to inquire of the servant from whence his master came, who he is, whither he is going, and what his business in that country? And if the fellow happens to be surly, as thinking the inquiry impertinent, perhaps chiefly from the Highlander's poor appearance, then the master is sure to be subtilly sifted (if not asked) for the secret; and, if obtained, it is a help to conversation with his future guests.†

Notice at last was brought me that my apartment was ready; but at going out from the first hovel, the other seemed to be all on fire within: for the smoke came pouring out through the ribs and roof all over; but chiefly out at the door, which was not four feet high, so that the whole

* The host told what he knew to his guest, in the hope that his guest would, in return, tell him something that he did not know. A stranger, in general, loses much, who baffles the curiosity of a Highlander, teasing as it often is.

† In the then political state of the country, curiosity respecting strangers, particularly those in the service of government, was natural enough. The curiosity remains, although this cause of it is happily removed; but these poor people have been so little obliged to the strangers who have settled among them, that this also is not to be wondered at.

made the appearance (I have seen) of a fuming dunghill removed and fresh piled up again, and pretty near the same in colour, shape, and size.

By the way, the Highlanders say they love the smoke; it keeps them warm. But I retired to my first shelter till the peats were grown red, and the smoke thereby abated.

This fuel is seldom kept dry, for want of convenience; and that is one reason why, in lighting or replenishing the fire, the smokiness continues so long a time;—and Moggy's puffing of it with her petticoat, instead of a pair of bellows, is a dilatory way.

I believe you would willingly know (being an Englishman) what I had to eat. My fare was a couple of roasted hens (as they call them), very poor, new killed, the skins much broken with plucking; black with smoke, and greased with bad butter.

As I had no great appetite to that dish, I spoke for some hard eggs; made my supper of the yolks, and washed them down with a bottle of good small claret.

My bed had clean sheets and blankets; but, which was best of all (though negative), I found no inconvenience from those troublesome companions with which most other huts abound. But the bare mention of them brings to my re-

membrance a passage between two officers of the army, the morning after a Highland night's lodging. One was taking off the slowest kind of the two, when the other cried out, "Z——ds! what are you doing?—Let us first secure the dragoons; we can take the foot at leisure."

But I had like to have forgot a mischance that happened to me the next morning; for rising early, and getting out of my box pretty hastily, I unluckily set my foot in the chamber-pot—a hole in the ground by the bed-side, which was made to serve for that use in case of occasion.

I shall not trouble you with any thing that passed till I mounted on horseback; only, for want of something more proper for breakfast, I took up with a little brandy, water, sugar, and yolks of eggs, beat up together; which I think they call Old man's milk.*

I was now provided with a new guide, for the skill of my first extended no further than this place: but this could speak no English, which I found afterwards to be an inconvenience.

Second day.—At mounting I received many compliments from my host; but the most earnest was, that common one of wishing me good weather. For, like the seafaring-man,

* The denominative ingredient is here wanting. The place of the *water* should have been supplied by *whipt cream*.

my safety depended upon it; especially at that season of the year.

As the plain lay before me, I thought it all fit for culture; but in riding along, I observed a good deal of it was bog, and here and there rock even with the surface: however, my road was smooth; and if I had had company with me, I might have said jestingly, as was usual among us after a rough way, "Come, let us ride this over again."

At the end of about a mile, there was a steep ascent, which they call a *carne;*—that is, an exceedingly stony hill, which at some distance seems to have no space at all between stone and stone. I thought I could compare it with no ruggedness so aptly as to suppose it like all the different stones in a mason's yard thrown promiscuously upon one another. This I passed on foot, at the rate of about half a mile in the hour. I do not reckon the time that was lost in backing my horses out of a narrow place without-side of a rock, where the way ended with a precipice of about twenty feet deep. Into this gap they were led by the mistake or carelessness of my guide. The descent from the top of this carne was short, and thence I ascended another hill not so stony; and at last, by several others (which, though very rough, are not reckoned extraordinary in the Highlands), I

came to a precipice of about a hundred yards in length.

The side of the mountain below me was almost perpendicular; and the rest above, which seemed to reach the clouds, was exceedingly steep. The path which the Highlanders and their little horses had worn was scarcely two feet wide, but pretty smooth; and below was a lake whereinto vast pieces of rock had fallen, which I suppose had made, in some measure, the steepness of the precipice; and the water that appeared between some of them seemed to be under my stirrup. I really believe the path where I was is twice as high from the lake as the cross of St. Paul's is from Ludgate-hill; and I thought I had good reason to think so, because a few huts beneath, on the further side of the water, which is not very wide, appeared to me each of them like a black spot not much bigger than the standish before me.

A certain officer of the army going this way was so terrified with the sight of the abyss that he crept a little higher, fondly imagining he should be safer above, as being further off from the danger, and so to take hold of the heath in his passage. There a panic terror seized him, and he began to lose his forces, finding it impracticable to proceed, and being fearful to quit his hold and slide down, lest in

so doing he should overshoot the narrow path; and had not two soldiers come to his assistance, viz. one who was at some little distance before him, and the other behind, in all probability he had gone to the bottom. But I have observed that particular minds are wrought upon by particular dangers, according to their different sets of ideas. I have sometimes travelled in the mountains with officers of the army, and have known one in the middle of a deep and rapid ford cry out he was undone; another was terrified with the fear of his horse's falling in an exceeding rocky way; and perhaps neither of them would be so much shocked at the danger that so greatly affected the other; or, it may be, either of them at standing the fire of a battery of cannon. But for my own part I had passed over two such precipices before, which rendered it something less terrifying; yet, as I have hinted, I chose to ride it, as I did the last of the other two, knowing by the first I was liable to fear, and that my horse was not subject either to that disarming passion or to giddiness, which in that case I take to be the effect of apprehension.

It is a common thing for the natives to ride their horses over such little precipices; but for myself I never was upon the back of one of them; and, by the account some Highlanders

have given me of them, I think I should never choose it in such places as I have been describing.

There is in some of those paths, at the very edge, or extremity, a little mossy grass, and those *sheltys*, being never shod, if they are ever so little foot-sore, they will, to favour their feet, creep to the very brink, which must certainly be very terrible to a stranger.

It will hardly ever be out of my memory, how I was haunted by a kind of poetical sentence, after I was over this precipice, which did not cease till it was supplanted by the new fear of my horse's falling among the rocks in my way from it. It was this:—

"There hov'ring eagles wait the fatal trip."

By the way, this bird* is frequently seen

* In the west and north-west of Scotland there is great repairing of a fowle called the erne (Scottish eagle), of a marveilous nature, and the people are very curious and solist to catch him, whom thereafter they punze off his wings, that he shall not be able to flie againe. This fowle is of a huge quantity; and, although he be of a ravenous nature, like to the kind of haulks, and be of the same qualitie, gluttonous, nevertheless the people doe give him such sort of meat as they thinke convenient, and such a great quantity at a time that hee lives contented with that portion for the space of fourteene, sixteene, or twenty dayes, and some of them for the space of a moneth. The people that doe so feed him, doe use him for this intent, that they may be furnished

among the mountains, and, I may say, severely felt sometimes, by the inhabitants, in the loss of their lambs, kids, and even calves and colts.

I had now gone about six miles, and had not above two, as I understood afterwards, to the place of baiting. In my way, which I shall

with the feathers of his wings, when hee doth cast them, for the garnishing of their arrowes, either when they are at warre or at hunting, for these feathers onely doe never receive rayne or water, as others doe, but remayne always of a durable estate and uncorruptible. The Highland chiefs were distinguished by wearing the plumes of the erne in their bonnets.—*Lord Somers's Tracts*, vol. iii. 401.

The eagle has been known to carry off not only fowls, but lambs and pigs; and, as Sir Robert Sibbald says, young children. The devastation committed by this race of birds upon the sheep, lambs, rabbits, pigs, and poultry, was at one time so great, that a law was found necessary for granting a reward to every person who should destroy an erne, or eagle. Those who take their nests find in them remains of great numbers of moor-game.—*Beauties of Scotland*, vol. v. 62.—*Pennant's Scotland*, vol. ii. 40.

The premium for producing two eagles' feet, as they became fewer, gradually dwindled down from a guinea to half-a-crown. The shepherd made a sort of low hut, or covering of loose branches of trees and heath, under which he concealed himself, with his fowling-piece a little before day-break, after putting the mangled carcase of a dead sheep as a bait. The kite was the earliest riser, then came the raven, carrion-crow, and magpie, who all tugged away together in perfect good humour; last of all came the eagle, and all the others retired to a respectful distance, to let him feed and—be shot.

only say was very rough and hilly, I met a Highland chieftain with fourteen attendants, whose offices about his person I shall hereafter describe, at least the greatest part of them. When we came, as the sailor says, almost broadside and broadside, he eyed me as if he would look my hat off; but, as he was at home, and I a stranger in the country, I thought he might have made the first overture of civility, and therefore I took little notice of him and his ragged followers. On his part he seemed to show a kind of disdain at my being so slenderly attended, with a mixture of anger that I showed him no respect before his vassals; but this might only be my surmise—yet it looked very like it. I supposed he was going to the glen from whence I came, for there was no other hut in all my way, and there he might be satisfied by the landlord who I was, &c.

I shall not trouble you with any more at present, than that I safely arrived at my baiting-place; for, as I hinted before, there is such a sameness in the parts of the hills that the description of one rugged way, bog, ford, &c. will serve pretty well to give you a notion of the rest.

Here I desired to know what I could have for dinner, and was told there was some undressed mutton. This I esteemed as a rarity, but, as I did not approve the fingers of either

maid or mistress, I ordered my man (who is an excellent cook, so far as a beef-steak or a mutton-chop) to broil me a chop or two, while I took a little turn to ease my legs, weary with sitting so long on horseback.

This proved an intolerable affront to my landlady, who raved and stormed, and said, "What's your master? I have dressed for the laird of this and the laird of that, such and such chiefs; and this very day," says she, "for the laird of ——," who, I doubted not, was the person I met on the hill. To be short, she absolutely refused to admit of any such innovation;* and so the chops served for my man and the guide, and I had recourse to my former fare—hard eggs.

Eggs are seldom wanting at the public huts, though, by the poverty of the poultry, one might wonder how they should have any inclination to produce them.

* About thirty years ago, a Highland gentleman of our acquaintance stopped at a country inn in the north-west Lowlands, and a large porringer full of *minced collops* was brought for his dinner; they were so musty that he begged the girl to ask her mistress if there was nothing else to be had. On this the landlady straddled into the room, with her arms a-kimbo,—"Musty, indeed! O the deil swall ye, that I should say sae! It sets ye weel to be sae nice-gabbit, a fulthy butcher o' Dunblane, as I ken weel ye are! Better folks nor you has lickit their lips after *that very collops*, a month sinsyne, and mair, 'at weel!"—With

Here was no wine to be had; but as I carried with me a few lemons in a net, I drank some small punch for refreshment. When my servant was preparing the liquor, my landlord came to me, and asked me seriously if those were apples he was squeezing.* And indeed there are as many lemon-trees as apple-trees in that country, nor have they any kind of fruit in their glens that I know of.

Their huts are mostly built on some rising rocky spot at the foot of a hill, secure from any bourn or springs that might descend upon them from the mountains; and, thus situated, they are pretty safe from inundations from above or below, and other ground they cannot spare from their corn. And even upon the skirts of the Highlands, where the laird has indulged two or three trees from his house, I have heard

that she thrust her fat, dirty paw into the middle of the dish, clutched as much of the minced beef as she could grasp, which she conveyed to her mouth, and, having tasted it, dashed the remainder back into the dish, and telling him "it was far o'er gude for him," flung out of the room, and left him to "dine with what appetite he might." This harridan is a bad sample of a Scotish *brewster-wife*.

* His question probably was "*what apples* they were?" which was proper enough. If he had learnt English, it must have been where there were apples to be seen. Had the author been obliged to speak Latin to a foreigner, he would have used the same form of speech.

the tenant lament the damage done by the droppings and shade of them, as well as the space taken up by the trunks and roots.

The only fruit the natives have, that I have seen, is the bilberry, which is mostly found near springs, in hollows of the heaths. The taste of them to me is not very agreeable, but they are much esteemed by the inhabitants, who eat them with their milk: yet in the mountain-woods, which, for the most part, are distant and difficult of access, there are nuts, raspberries, and strawberries; the two last, though but small, are very grateful to the taste;* but those woods are so rare (at least it has always ppeared so to me) that few of the Highlanders are near enough to partake of the benefit.

I now set out on my last stage, of which I had gone about five miles, in much the same manner as before, when it began to rain below, but it was snow above to a certain depth from the summits of the mountains. In about half an hour afterwards, at the end of near a mile, there arose a most violent tempest. This, in a

* When the autumn is warm and dry, the *blackberries*, in favourable exposures, in the Highlands, are so superior to those found in the brakes and hedges in England, that an Englishman must taste them before he can believe how good they are: they are not quite so large as the mulberry, but much better flavoured. They have also juniper, cranberries, bogberries, &c.

little time, began to scoop the snow from the mountains, and made such a furious drift, which did not melt as it drove, that I could hardly see my horse's head.

The horses were blown aside from place to place as often as the sudden gusts came on, being unable to resist those violent eddy-winds; and, at the same time, they were nearly blinded with the snow.

Now I expected no less than to perish, was hardly able to keep my saddle, and, for increase of misery, my guide led me out of the way, having entirely lost his land-marks.

When he perceived his error he fell down on his knees, by my horse's side, and in a beseeching posture, with his arms extended and in a howling tone, seemed to ask forgiveness.

I imagined what the matter was (for I could but just see him, and that too by fits), and spoke to him with a soft voice, to signify I was not in anger; and it appeared afterwards that he expected to be shot, as they have a dreadful notion of the English.

Thus finding himself in no danger of my resentment, he addressed himself to the searching about for the way from which he had deviated, and in some little time I heard a cry of joy, and he came and took my horse by the bridle, and never afterwards quitted it till we came to my new lodging, which was about a

mile, for it was almost as dark as night. In the mean time I had given directions to my man for keeping close to my horse's heels; and if any thing should prevent it, to call to me immediately, that I might not lose him.

As good luck would have it, there was but one small river in the way, and the ford, though deep and winding, had a smooth, sandy bottom, which is very rare in the Highlands.

There was another circumstance favourable to us (I shall not name a third as one, which is our being not far from the village, for we might have perished with cold in the night as well near it as further off), there had not a very great quantity of snow fallen upon the mountains, because the air began a little to clear, though very little, within about a quarter of a mile of the glen, otherwise we might have been buried in some cavity hid from us by the darkness and the snow.

But if this drift, which happened to us upon some one of the wild moors, had continued, and we had had far to go, we might have perished, notwithstanding the knowledge of any guide whatever.

These drifts are, above all other dangers, dreaded by the Highlanders; for my own part, I could not but think of Mr. Addison's short description of a whirlwind in the wild, sandy deserts of Numidia.

LETTER XVIII.

Every high wind, in many places of the Highlands, is a whirlwind. The agitated air, pouring into the narrow and high spaces between the mountains, being confined in its course, and, if I may use the expression, pushed on by a crowding rear, till it comes to a bounded hollow, or kind of amphitheatre;—I say, the air, in that violent motion, is there continually repelled by the opposite hill, and rebounded from others, till it finds a passage, insomuch that I have seen, in the western Highlands, in such a hollow, some scattering oaks, with their bark twisted almost as if it had been done with a lever.

This, I suppose, was effected when they were young, and consequently the rest of their growth was in that figure: and I myself have met with such rebuffs on every side, from the whirling of such winds, as are not easy to be described.

When I came to my inn, (you will think the word a burlesque), I found it a most wretched

hovel, with several pretty large holes in the sides; and, as usual, exceedingly smoky.

My apartment had a partition about four feet high, which separated it from the lodging of the family; and, being entered, I called for straw or heather to stop the gaps. Some straw was brought; but no sooner was it applied than it was pulled away on the outside.

This put me in a very ill humour, thinking some malicious Highlander did it to plague or affront me; and, therefore, I sent my man (who had just housed his horses, and was helping me) to see who it could be; and immediately he returned laughing, and told me it was a poor hungry cow, that was got to the backside of the hut for shelter, and was pulling out the straw for provender.

The smoke being something abated, and the edifice repaired, I began to reflect on the miserable state I had lately been in; and esteemed that very hut, which at another time I should have greatly despised, to be to me as good as a palace; and, like a keen appetite with ordinary fare, I enjoyed it accordingly, not envying even the inhabitants of Buckingham-House.

Here I conclude my journal, which I fear you will think as barren and tedious as the ground I went over; but I must ask your patience a little while longer concerning it, as no great

reason yet appears to you why I should come to this wretched place, and go no further.

By a change of the wind, there happened to fall a good deal of rain* in the night; and I was told by my landlord the hills presaged more of it, that a wide river before me was become impassable, and if I remained longer in the hills at that season of the year, I might be shut in for most part of the winter; for if fresh snow should fall, and lie lower down on the mountains than it did the day before, I could not repass the precipice, and must wait till the lake was frozen so hard as to bear my horses: and even then it was dangerous in those places where the springs bubble up from the bottom, and render the ice thin, and incapable to bear any great weight:—but that, indeed, those weak spots might be avoided by means of a skilful guide.

As to the narrow path, he said, he was certain that any snow which might have lodged on it from the drift was melted by the rain which

* Their weather is not pleasing; half the year is deluged with rain. From the autumnal to the vernal equinox a dry day is hardly known, except when the showers are suspended by a tempest: under such skies can be expected no great exuberance of vegetation. *Heath sometimes shoots up to the height of six feet!* Their winter overtakes their summer, and their harvest lies upon the ground drenched with rain.

Johnson's Journey, Works, vol. viii. 301.

had then ceased. To all this he added a piece of news (not very prudently, as I thought), which was, that some time before I passed the precipice, a poor Highlander leading over it his horse laden with *creels*, or small panniers, one of them struck against the upper part of the hill, as he supposed; and whether the man was endeavouring to save his horse, or how it was, he could not tell, but that they both fell down, and were dashed to pieces among the rocks. This to me was very affecting, especially as I was to pass the same way in my return.*

Thus I was prevented from meeting a number of gentlemen of a clan, who were to have

* A shepherd in the *rough bounds*, scrambling over the rocks on the side of a high mountain, fell and broke his leg. No one knew that he was in that part of the hill, and the place was so lonely, that he had no hope of ever seeing a human face again. It was in vain to call for help, where there was none to hear. He tried to persuade his dog to go home and alarm his wife and children; but the poor animal, who saw his distress, without thoroughly comprehending his meaning, only went a few yards from him, sat down on the rock, looked at him, looked homeward, and howled. As the day advanced, love of life, and the thought of his wife and children, roused him to exertion. With his broad tape garters, and stripes of his plaid, he lashed his broken limb to his fowling-piece, and leaning on the butt-end as a crutch, made his way down the precipitous side of the mountain, crossed the river, reached his cottage (two miles farther), recovered, and was as well as ever!

assembled in a place assigned for our interview, about a day and a half's journey further in the hills; and on the other side of the river were numbers of Highlanders waiting to conduct me to them. But I was told, before I entered upon this peregrination, that no Highlander would venture upon it at that time of the year; yet I piqued myself upon following the unreasonable directions of such as knew nothing of the matter.

Now I returned with as hasty steps as the way you have seen would permit, having met with no more snow or rain till I got into the lower country; and then there fell a very great *storm*, as they call it—for by the word *storm* they only mean snow. And you may believe I then hugged myself, as being got clear of the mountains.

But before I proceed to give you some account of the natives, I shall, in justice, say something relating to part of the country of Athol, which, though Highlands, claims an exception from the preceding general and gloomy descriptions; as may likewise some other places, not far distant from the borders of the Lowlands, which I have not seen.

This country is said to be a part of the ancient Caledonia. The part I am speaking of is a

tract of land, or *strath*, which lies along the sides of the Tay, a capital river of the Highlands.

The mountains, though very high, have an easy slope a good way up, and are cultivated in many places, and inhabited by tenants who, like those below, have a different air from other Highlanders in the goodness of their dress and cheerfulness of their countenances.

The strath, or vale, is wide, and beautifully adorned with plantations of various sorts of trees: the ways are smooth, and, in one part, you ride in pleasant glades, in another you have an agreeable vista. Here you pass through corn-fields, there you ascend a small height, from whence you have a pleasing variety of that wild and spacious river, woods, fields and neighbouring mountains, which altogether give a greater pleasure than the most romantic description in words, heightened by a lively imagination, can possibly do; but the satisfaction seemed beyond expression, by comparing it in our minds with the rugged ways and horrid prospects of the more northern mountains, when we passed southward from them, through this vale to the Low-country; but, with respect to Athol in general, I must own that some parts of it are very rugged and dangerous.

I shall not pretend to give you, as a people,

the original of the Highlanders, having no certain materials for that purpose; and, indeed, that branch of history, with respect even to commonwealths and kingdoms, is generally either obscured by time, falsified by tradition, or rendered fabulous by invention; nor do I think it would be of any great importance, could I trace them up to their source with certainty; but I am persuaded they came from Ireland, in regard their language is a corruption of the Irish tongue.

Spenser, in his "View of the State of Ireland," written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, sets forth the dress and customs of the Irish; and, if I remember right, they were, at that time, very near what the people are now in the Highlands. But this is by the bye, as having little relation to antiquity; for dress is variable, and customs may be abolished by authority; but language will baffle the efforts even of a tyrant.*

* The lineage of every people is most accurately traced in their language. The Scoto-Irish even now speak Gaelic: their progenitors in Ireland always spoke Gaelic, the same Gaelic which we see in the Irish word-books of every age; and the *Scoticæ gentes* were therefore a Gaelic people. The Scots never spoke Teutonic; and they were not therefore a Gothic people, who spoke the Teutonic and not the Gaelic. The country of the Scots, as they were themselves Gaelic, must necessarily have been Gaelic.

This intimation points to Ireland, the Western Land, where the

The Highlanders are exceedingly proud to be thought an unmixed people, and are apt to upbraid the English with being a composition of all nations; but, for my own part, I think a little mixture in that sense would do themselves no manner of harm.

The stature of the better sort, so far as I can make the comparison, is much the same with the English, or Low-country Scots, but the common people are generally small; nor is it likely that, by being half-starved in the womb, and never afterwards well fed, they should by that means be rendered larger than other people.

How often have I heard them described in London as almost giants in size! and certainly

Scoticæ gentes, or Scots, were first found by those intelligent writers, who take the most early notice of them, in the third and fourth centuries—in those eventful times, when the Scots moved all Ireland to enterprize, and when Ierne wept the slaughter of her sons. It is therefore a moral certainty, of great importance in Irish history, that Ireland, at the epoch of the introduction of Christianity into that island, was inhabited by the Scots, a Gaelic people, who spoke the same Gaelic language which we may see in the Gaelic Scriptures. We are, indeed, informed by contemporary writers, that the Roman missionaries who produced that great change, were sent to the Scots in Ireland.

Pope Honorius I. (who died in 683 A. D.) in writing to the Irish church, on the proper observance of Easter, addressed his epistle, "*Ad Scotorum gentem.*" Bede, lib. ii. cap. xix.—*Chalmers's Caledonia*, i. vol. 269, 270.

there are a great many tall men of them in and about that city; but the truth is, when a young fellow of any spirit happens (as Kite says) to be born to be a *great man*, he leaves the country, to put himself into some foreign service (chiefly in the army), but the short ones are not commonly seen in other countries than their own. I have seen a hundred of them together come down to the Lowlands for harvest-work, as the Welsh come to England for the same purpose, and but few sizeable men among them; their women are generally very small.

It has been said, likewise, that none of them are deformed by crookedness: it is true, I have not seen many; for, as I observed of the people bordering upon the Highlands, none are spoiled by over care of their shapes. But is it to be supposed that children who are left to themselves, when hardly able to go alone, in such a rugged country, are free from all accidents? Assertions so general are ridiculous. They are also said to be very healthy and free from distempers, notwithstanding the great hardships they endure. Surely an account of that country from a native is not unlike a Gascon's account of himself. I own they are not very subject to maladies occasioned by luxury, but very liable to fluxes, fevers, agues, coughs, rheu-

matisms, and other distempers, incident to their way of living; especially upon the approach of winter, of which I am a witness.

By the way, the poorer sort are persuaded that wine, or strong malt drink, is a very good remedy in a fever; and though I never prescribed either of them, I have administered both with as good success as any medicines prescribed by Doctor Radcliffe.

Æsculapius, even as a god, could hardly have had a more solemn act of adoration paid him than I had lately from a Highlander, at whose hut I lay in one of my journeys. His wife was then desperately ill of a fever, and I left a bottle of *château margoût* behind me to comfort her, if she should recover; for I had then several horses laden with wine and provisions, and a great retinue of Highlanders with me.

The poor man fell down on his knees in this dirty street, and eagerly kissed my hand; telling me, in Irish, I had cured his wife with my good stuff. This caused several jokes from my countrymen who were present, upon the poor fellow's value for his wife; and the doctor himself did not escape their mirth upon that occasion.

Having, yesterday, proceeded thus far in my letter, in order to have the less writing this evening, I had a retrospection in the morning to

my journal; and could not but be of opinion that some few additions were necessary to give you a clearer notion of the inner part of the country, in regard to the incidents, in that account, being confined to one short progress, which could not include all that is wanting to be known for the purpose intended.

There are few days pass without some rain or snow in the hills, and it seems necessary it should be so (if we may suppose Nature ever intended the worst parts as habitations for human creatures), for the soil is so shallow and stony, and in summer the reflection of the sun's heat from the sides of the rocks is so strong, by reason of the narrowness of the vales—to which may be added the violent winds—that otherwise the little corn they have would be entirely dried and burnt up for want of proper moisture.

The clouds in their passage often sweep along beneath the tops of the high mountains, and, when they happen to be above them, are drawn, as they pass, by attraction, to the summits, in plain and visible streams and streaks, where they are broke, and fall in vast quantities of water. Nay, it is pretty common in the high country for the clouds, or some very dense exhalation, to drive along the part which is there called the foot of the hills, though very

high above the level of the sea; and I have seen, more than once, a very fair rainbow described, at not above thirty or forty yards distance from me, and seeming of much the same diameter, having each foot of the semicircle upon the ground.

An English gentleman, one day, as we stopped to consider this phenomenon, proposed to ride into the rainbow; and though I told him the fruitless consequence, since it was only a vision made by his eye, being at that distance; having the sun directly behind, and before him the thick vapour that was passing along at the foot of the hill; yet (the place being smooth) he set up a gallop, and found his mistake, to my great diversion with him afterwards, upon his confession that he had soon entirely lost it.

I have often heard it told by travellers, as a proof of the height of Teneriffe, that the clouds sometimes hide part of that mountain, and at the same time the top of it is seen above them: nothing is more ordinary than this in the Highlands. But I would not, therefore, be thought to insinuate, that these are as high as that; but they may, you see, be brought under the same description.

Thus you find the immediate source of the rivers and lakes in the mountains is the clouds, and not as our rivers, which have their original

from subterraneous aqueducts, that rise in springs below: but, among the hills, the waters fall in great cascades and vast cataracts, and pass with prodigious rapidity through large rocky channels, with such a noise as almost deafens the traveller whose way lies along by their sides. And when these torrents rush through glens or wider straths, they often plough up, and sweep away with them, large spots of the soil, leaving nothing behind but rock or gravel, so that the land is never to be recovered. And for this a proportionable abatement is made in the tenant's rent.

The lakes are very differently situated, with respect to high and low. There are those which are vast cavities filled up with water, whereof the surface is but little higher than the level of the sea; but of a surprising depth. As Lake Ness,* for the purpose, which has been ignorantly held to be without a bottom; but was sounded by an experienced seamen, when I was

* Loch Ness is thus spoken of by the author of The Scots Chronicle, 1597.—"The water of Næss is almost alwayes warme, and at no time so cold that it freezeth; yea in the most cold time of winter, broken ice falling in it is dissolved by the heat thereof." Dr. Johnson appears to have doubted the truth of this, and says, "That which is strange is delightful, and a pleasing error is not willingly detected. Accuracy of narration is not very common; and there are few so rigidly philosophical, as not to represent as perpetual what is only frequent, or as con-

present, and appeared to be one hundred and thirty fathoms, or two hundred and sixty yards deep.

It seems to be supplied by two small rivers at its head; but the great increase of water is from the rivers, bourns, and cascades from the high mountains at which it is bounded at the water's edge. And it has no other visible issue but by the river Ness, which is not large; nor has the lake any perceptible current, being so spacious, as more than a mile in breadth and twenty-one in length. At a place called Foyers, there is a steep hill close to it, of about a quarter of a mile to the top, from whence a river pours into the lake, by three successive wild cataracts, over romantic rocks; whereon, at each fall, it dashes with such violence, that in windy weather the side of the hill is hid from sight for a good way together by the spray, which looks like a thick body of smoke. This fall of water has been compared with the cataracts of the Tiber, by those who have seen them both.

There are other lakes in large hollows, on the tops of exceedingly high hills;—I mean, they seem to any one below, who has only heard of them,

stant what is really casual." The *fact* is, however, unquestionable; and may be sufficiently accounted for by the extraordinary depth of the water.—*Lord Somers's Tracts*, vol. iii. 388.—*Johnson's Journey*, Works, vol. viii. 236.

to be on the utmost height. But this is a deception; for there are other hills behind unseen, from whence they are supplied with the great quantity of water they contain. And it is impossible that the rain which falls within the compass of one of those cavities should not only be the cause of such a profound depth of water, but also supply the drainings that descend from it, and issue out in springs from the sides of the hills.

There are smaller lakes, which are also seated high above the plain, and are stored with trout; though it seems impossible, by the vast steepness of the bourns on every visible side, that those fish should have got up thither from rivers or lakes below. This has often moved the question,—"How came they there?" But they may have ascended by small waters, in long windings out of sight behind, and none steep enough to cause a wonder; for I never found there was any notion of their being brought thither for breed. But I had like to have forgot that some will have them to have sprung from the fry carried from other waters, and dropped in those small lakes by water-fowl.

In a part of the Highlands called Strath-glass, there is a lake too high by its situation to be much affected by the reflection of warmth from the plain, and too low between the mountains,

which almost join together, to admit the rays of the sun; for the only opening to it is on the north side. Here the ice continues all the year round; and though it yields a little on the surface to the warmth of the circumambient air by day, in summer-time, yet at the return of night it begins to freeze as hard as ever. This I have been assured of, not only by the proprietor himself, but by several others in and near that part of the country.

I have seen, in a rainy day, from a conflux of waters above, on a distant high hill, the side of it covered over with water by an overflowing, for a very great space, as you may have seen the water pour over the brim of a cistern, or rather like its being covered over with a sheet; and upon the peeping out of the sun the reflected rays have dazzled my eyes to such a degree, as if they were directed to them by the focus of a burning-glass.

So much for the lakes.

In one expedition, where I was well attended, as I have said before, there was a river in my way so dangerous that I was set upon the shoulders of four Highlanders, my horse not being to be trusted to in such roughness, depth, and rapidity; and I really thought sometimes we should all have gone together. In the same journey the shoulders of some of them

were employed to ease the horses down from rock to rock; and all that long day I could make out but nine miles. This also was called a road.

Toward the end of another progress, in my return to this town, after several hazards from increasing waters, I was at length stopped by a small river that was become impassable. There happened, luckily for me, to be a public hut in this place, for there was no going back again; but there was nothing to drink except the water of the river. This I regretted the more, as I had refused, at one of the barracks, to accept of a bottle of old hock, on account of the carriage, and believing I should reach hither before night. In about three hours after my arrival at this hut, there appeared, on the other side of the water, a parcel of merchants with little horses loaded with roundlets of usky.

Within sight of the ford was a bridge, as they called it, made for the convenience of this place; it was composed of two small fir-trees, not squared at all, laid, one beside the other, across a narrow part of the river, from rock to rock: there were gaps and intervals between those trees, and, beneath, a most tumultuous fall of water. Some of my merchants, bestriding the bridge, edged forwards, and moved the usky vessels before them; but the others, afterwards, to my sur-

prise, walked over this dangerous passage, and dragged their *garrons* through the torrent, while the poor little horses were almost drowned with the surge.

I happened to have a few lemons left, and with them I so far qualified the ill-taste of the spirit as to make it tolerable; but eatables there were none, except eggs and poor starved fowls, as usual.

The usky men were my companions, whom it was expected I should treat according to custom, there being no partition to separate them from me; and thus I passed a part of the day and great part of the night in the smoke, and dreading the bed:* but my personal hazards, wants, and inconveniences, among the hills, have been so many, that I shall trouble you with no more of them, or very sparingly, if I do at all.

Some of the bogs are of large extent, and many people have been lost in them, especially

* Mr. Boswell thus describes one of those inns, at which himself and Dr. Johnson slept:—"The room had some deals laid across the joists as a kind of ceiling; there were two beds in the room, and a woman's gown was hung on a rope, to make a curtain of separation between them. We had much hesitation whether to undress, or lie down with our clothes on: at last I said, 'I'll plunge in!' and the idea of filth and vermin made Johnson feel like one hesitating whether to go into the cold bath."—*Boswell's Tour*, 127.

after much rain in time of snow, as well as in the lesser *mosses*, as they call them, where, in digging of peat, there have been found fir-trees of a good magnitude, buried deep, and almost as hard as ebony. This, like the situation of the mountains, is attributed to Noah's flood, for they conclude the trees have lain there ever since that time, though it may be easily otherwise accounted for. But what seems extraordinary to strangers is, that there are often deep bogs on the declivities of hills, and the higher you go the more you are bogged.

In a part called Glengary, in my return hither from the west Highlands, I found a bog, or a part of one, had been washed down by some violent torrent from the top of a hill into the plain, and the steep slope was almost covered over with the muddy substance that had rested there in its passage downwards. This made a pretty deep bog below, as a gentleman who was with me found from his curiosity to try it, being deceived by the surface, which was dried by the sun and wind, for he forced his horse into it, and sank, which surprised my companion, who, I thought, should have known better, being of Ireland.

I have heretofore hinted the danger of being shut in by waters, and thereby debarred from all necessaries of life, but have not yet men-

tioned the extent of the hills that intervene between one place of shelter and another; and indeed it is impossible to do so in general; for they are sometimes nine or ten Scots miles over, and one of them in particular that I have passed is eighteen, wherein you frequently meet with rivers, and deep, rugged channels in the sides of the mountains, which you must pass, and these last are often the most dangerous of the two; and both, if continued rains should fall, become impassable before you can attain the end, for which a great deal of time is required, by the stoniness and other difficulties of the way. There is, indeed, one alleviation; that as these rivers may, from being shallow, become impracticable for the tallest horse in two or three hours time, yet will they again be passable, from their velocity, almost as soon, if the rain entirely cease. When the Highlanders speak of these spaces they call them "monts, without either house or hall;" and never attempt to pass them, if the tops of the mountains presage bad weather; yet in that they are sometimes deceived by a sudden change of wind.

All this way you may go without seeing a tree, or coming within two miles of a shrub; and when you come at last to a small spot of arable land, where the rocky feet of the hills

serve for enclosure, what work do they make about the beauties of the place, as though one had never seen a field of oats before!

You know that a polite behaviour is common to the army; but as it is impossible it should be universal, considering the different tempers and other accidents that attend mankind, so we have here a certain captain, who is almost illiterate, perfectly rude, and thinks his courage and strength are sufficient supports to his incivilities.

This officer finding a laird at one of the public huts in the Highlands, and both going the same way, they agreed to bear one another company the rest of the journey. After they had ridden about four miles, the laird turned to him, and said, "Now all the ground we have hitherto gone over is my own property."—"By G—!" says the other, "I have an apple-tree in Herefordshire that I would not swop with you for it all."

But to give you a better idea of the distance between one inhabited spot and another, in a vast extent of country (main and island), I shall acquaint you with what a chief was saying of his *quondam* estate. He told me, that if he was reinstated, and disposed to sell it, I should have it for the purchase-money of three-pence an acre.

I did not then take much notice of what he said, it being at a tavern in Edinburgh, and pretty late at night, but, upon this occasion of writing to you, I have made some calculation of it, and find I should have been in danger to have had a very bad bargain. It is said to have been reduced by a survey to a rectangle parallelogram, or oblong square, of sixty miles by forty, which is 2,400 square miles and 1,951,867 square acres. It is called 1,500*l.* a-year rent, but the collector said he never received 900*l.*

Now the aforesaid number of acres, at 3*d.* per acre, amounts to 24,398*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.*—and 900*l.* *per annum,* at twenty-five years purchase, is but 22,500*l.;* the difference is 1,896*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.*

There are other observations that might not be improper, but I shall now defer them, and continue my account of the people, which has likewise been deferred in this letter.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

S. Curtis, Camberwell Press.

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